

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# What next for antiracist fight?

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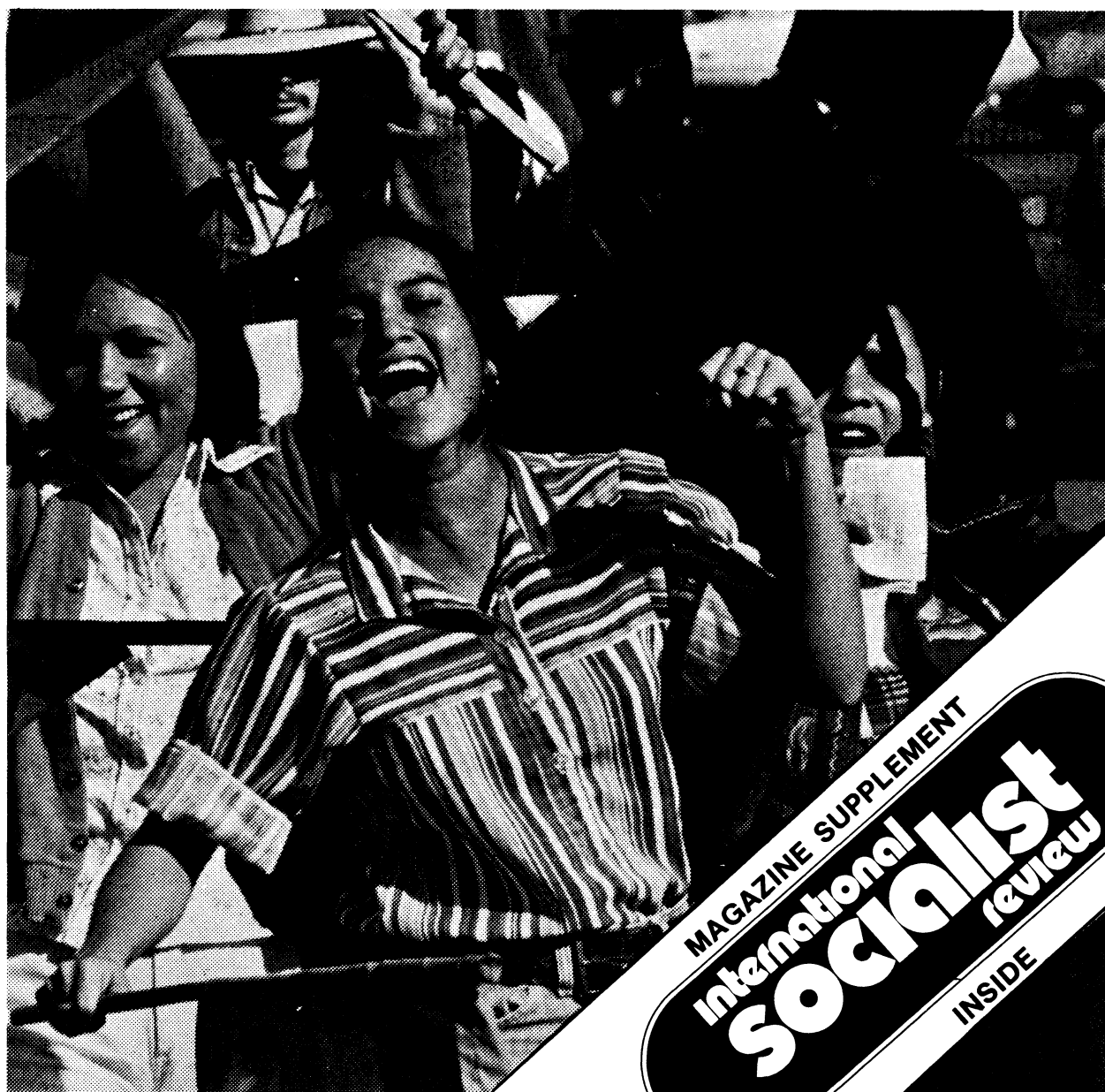
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## THE MILITANT

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**RALLY TO SAVE FORDHAM HOSPITAL:** "Last week two little boys were hit by a car on the parkway," Marcia Garcia told *Militant* correspondent Roberta Frick. Garcia is a volunteer nurse's aide at Fordham Hospital in the Bronx. "They were rushed here to Fordham and the staff hustled for twenty-four hours and saved their lives. If Fordham was closed and they had to travel five more minutes to some hospital in the North Bronx, they would have died."

Garcia was among the 250 community residents at an April 23 rally to save Fordham Hospital, which has been ordered shut down this June by the Emergency Financial Control Board that now runs New York. Pointing to a banner held by another protester—"New York City Budget Cuts Will Kill Us—Keep Fordham Open"—Garcia said bitterly, "They'll have to drag us all out before they close this hospital."

Bronx residents have been sitting in at the hospital around the clock since April 13. In support of the broadly endorsed protest, accounting clerks have refused to continue billing patients.

## SWP backs May Day rally to 'Save Hostos'

[The following statement was issued by the Local Executive Committee of the New York City Socialist Workers party and distributed by its branches throughout the city.]

May Day is the traditional international day of working-class solidarity. It emerged from the eight-hour-day movement in the United States in the late nineteenth century and is celebrated throughout the world.

It is fitting then that a May Day demonstration, initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist party, has been called for Hostos College in the Bronx around the central theme, "Save Hostos."

This besieged campus has become a focus in the struggle against the ruling-class offensive to drive down the standard of living of the working class in New York City, especially Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Hostos is the only bilingual college in the eastern United States and more than 90 percent of the students are Black or Puerto Rican. The attempt to close this school, a move supported by both Democratic and Republican politicians, is a flagrant example of the racist character of the massive cutbacks in education. It is a blow against Puerto Rican and Black working people in the South Bronx who have benefited from a wide range of special programs, night courses, and the use of the college's facilities.

A victory at Hostos would inspire and help drive forward the struggle of all working people and students in the city.

The Socialist Workers party urges socialists, unionists, community activists, students, and all others fighting against the cutbacks to unite May 1 at Hostos College under the slogan, "Save Hostos."

**TEST OF ENDURANCE IN S.F. STRIKE:** As the strike by 1,900 city-employed crafts workers in San Francisco enters its fifth week, both sides have settled down to a test of endurance. *Militant* correspondent Nat Weinstein reports that the past week saw yet another boss-inspired campaign to force a return to work by 2,000 transit workers, whose support has been the backbone of the strike.

The Municipal Railway (Muni) drivers have voted at three mass meetings to continue honoring picket lines. Now the ruling-class mouthpieces are promoting a call for a "secret ballot" vote on returning to work. The capitalist media have played up a petition being circulated by a small group of drivers calling for a secret vote. So far, at least, the ranks and leadership of Transport Workers Union Local 250-A are holding firm against this ploy.

Weinstein reports that the heads of the striking unions and of the San Francisco Labor Council still refuse to initiate any serious action to step up the pressure on the mayor and board of supervisors. A key reason for this default of leadership is highlighted by their refusal to even take note of the strikebreaking role of Democratic Mayor George Moscone.

It is clear that any vigorous action to win the strike would force labor into a confrontation with the "pro-labor" mayor and thus underscore the flagrant and unanimous union-busting role of the Democratic party. That is a consequence the union officials seem to fear even more than they fear losing the strike.

**RALLY FOR AMERICAN INDIAN LEADERS:** On May 8 Portland, Oregon, supporters of Native Americans Dennis Banks, Kamook Banks, Kenneth Loudhawk, and Russell Redner will hold a demonstration and rally in front

of the federal courthouse. The action will demand that the state not extradite Dennis Banks to South Dakota and that the trumped-up firearms charges against all four defendants be dropped.

Demonstrators will meet at 11:00 a.m. at the North Park Blocks and march to the federal courthouse.

## PICKETERS CONFRONT ARGENTINE CONSUL:

On April 8 more than ninety-five people protested against the Argentine military coup outside the Argentine consulate in San Francisco. Meanwhile, a delegation delivered a message to the consul general inside. Demonstrators issued four demands: implement full democratic, civil, and trade-union rights; free all political prisoners; guarantee the safety of all refugees in Argentina; and no U.S. military or economic aid to the military government. The delegation included Walter Johnson, Retail Clerks International Association Local 1100; Father Jim Hagan, St. Peter's Church; and Wendy Turnbull, Amnesty International.

The consul denied any violations of human rights in his country and swore that political exiles from Chile and other countries would be safe in Argentina.

The East Bay and San Francisco chapters of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People organized the action. Other sponsoring groups included CASA-Hermandad General de Trabajadores, MASA (Anti-imperialist Movement for Socialism in Argentina), Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, and Committee of Chilean Refugees.

**CHICANOS PURSUE RECALL DRIVE:** The Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights submitted 1,853 signatures on recall petitions to the National City, California, clerk on April 14. Targets of the recall drive are two city council members and the mayor, who participated in a cover-up of the murder of a Puerto Rican youth by a city cop.

This is the second time that the committee has submitted petitions. The city clerk cited picayune technicalities to invalidate 1,200 of the 1,756 signatures turned in on December 31. The Ad Hoc Committee has collected signatures from well over 25 percent of those registered to vote in 1975—the number required to mandate a recall. But now Judge Douglas Woodworth wants to use the larger 1976 voter list, which will mean that the signatures collected fall short of what is needed.

"They changed rules on us in the middle of the game," Herman Baca, chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee, told reporters. "We're appealing Woodworth's decision."

—Ginny Hildebrand



## Special Offer For New Readers

Will the ERA be ratified in 1976? Thousands of women's rights supporters are preparing to march on Springfield, Illinois, on May 16 to demand their rights now. The *Militant* will keep you informed of May 16 plans and other activities and discussions in the women's movement.

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# Why Boston march was called off: lessons for antiracist movement



Boston, May 17, 1975, probusing demonstration organized by NAACP and National Student Coalition Against Racism

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

By Malik Miah

On April 21 a news conference was held at Freedom House in Roxbury to announce the postponement of the April 24 march on Boston for school desegregation and busing and against racist violence.

Flanked by ten Black community leaders, Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the march, explained that the increased race polarization in the city led the march organizers to make this decision.

Dixon explained that the responsibility for this polarization "rests with Mayor Kevin H. White, City Council President Louise Day Hicks, Gov.

*Malik Miah is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party, and was an SWP representative to the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston. He has been helping to organize a response to racist violence in Boston since the fall of 1974.*

Michael Dukakis, and President Gerald Ford."

Because of this government-fostered polarization, Dixon explained, "it's not possible to hold a peaceful, legal activity at this time."

This decision by the organizers of the probusing march was a hard one to make. As Dixon explained to the news media, the situation in Boston made a national march and rally in Boston even more urgent as the most effective way to answer the racists and their offensive against Black rights. But the relationship of social forces in the days preceding April 24 favored the government-inspired racist movement, not the Black community.

On the basis of this grim reality, march organizers made the difficult decision to postpone the action.

The fact that the demonstration had to be postponed is a setback for the probusing movement. This article is intended to draw the lessons from this setback and discuss what steps must be taken to move the probusing, prodesegregation movement forward.

## Two-year campaign

Since school desegregation began in September 1974, racist gangs backed by elected city officials have been on the offensive. This not only included legal suits against the court-ordered school desegregation by the mayor, school committee, and the racist Home and School Association, but thug attacks on Black students by racist youth in South Boston, Charlestown, and Hyde Park.

The Boston racists received the

public support of government figures and politicians—including President Gerald Ford and Democratic presidential hopefuls George Wallace and Henry Jackson.

The Black community and its supporters, on the other hand, have been less organized. For two years their actions have been primarily limited to responding to anti-Black violence.

## Response to racists

In order to help change the atmosphere in Boston and win allies, the Black community and its supporters called several important actions over the past two years in response to the racists.

The first significant national action was the December 14, 1974, demonstration called by Massachusetts State Sen. William Owens. Twelve thousand supporters of school desegregation hit the streets of Boston. Even though the focus of the march was not clearly for busing, it was viewed as a probusing march and dealt a blow to the racists.

The following spring on May 17 the NAACP—the largest civil rights organization in the country—sponsored a national march of 15,000 people in Boston.

The following day the racists organized a counterdemonstration no more than a quarter of the size of the probusing march.

The May 17 march dealt another blow to the racists, and it put the Black community on the political offensive.

However, over the summer there was an escalation of racist violence

community was able to use the beach for the planned amount of time—two to three hours.

But the blatant refusal of the police to adequately protect the Black picnickers, who were attacked by racists, led to mini-rebellions in the Black community after the event.

The fear that a massive explosion could occur in the city when school reopened in September led the cops and city officials to deploy hundreds of cops when schools did open in the fall.

The huge number of cops stationed at the schools not only prevented the racists from carrying out any major disruptions but also showed the nation that the government was capable of enforcing the law if pressured to do so.

## Pressures mount

Because of the violence associated with the Carson Beach affair, NAACP leaders and Black elected officials who had supported earlier probusing actions were hesitant to call any protests in the fall. In addition, many felt pressured not to rock the boat during the mayoral election by backing public protests.

On the other hand, the racists were quite active. The city council chambers were a sanctuary for weekly racist meetings, and the bigots systematized their attacks on busing through ongoing boycotts, periodic walkouts, and outright violence in the schools.

Nationally the racists also felt wind in their sails. They set themselves the goal of pressuring Congress to approve a constitutional amendment to prohib-

allies in the government, the polls show a majority of whites in the country and in Boston oppose the violence of the racists and favor school desegregation.

## Violence escalates

The decision to call an April 24 probusing march in Boston came after an escalation of anti-Black violence at the beginning of the year. The racists staged a week of disruptions in Hyde Park, East Boston, and Charlestown schools during mid-January. Bats and clubs were used against Black students at Hyde Park.

Black families living in predominantly white areas of the city were attacked by racist gangs. The police did nothing in response.

These ominous developments led Ellen Jackson, director of the Freedom House Institute on Schools and Education; Ruth Batson, a longtime leader of the desegregation fight in Boston and director of the Crisis Intervention Teams; and Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, to issue a letter on February 20. The three leaders addressed the letter to Black and white supporters of desegregation around the country, asking them if they would endorse a call by local Black leaders for a national march and rally in Boston.

The letter stated: "The future of school desegregation in this city is in jeopardy. We have come to the conclusion that what is critically needed today is a broad and massive movement to respond to the violent attacks of ROAR and other opponents of busing and Black rights. . . ."

A February 21 emergency national steering committee meeting of NSCAR held in Boston endorsed the letter and instructed the NSCAR coordinators to pursue the discussions necessary to help bring about a national march and rally in the spring.

Two weeks later, after much discussion with local and national Black and white civil rights leaders, a call was issued for the April 24 demonstration. More than 100 people signed the call for a peaceful, legal, prodesegregation march.

## Building the march

Soon after the call was issued, the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston was set up. The driving force behind the coalition was NSCAR Coordinator Maceo Dixon.

As an initiator of the call, Dixon organized the first meeting where representatives from the National Lawyers Guild and the Arlington

*Continued on next page*

**"The May 17, 1975, march dealt a blow to the racists and put the Black community on the offensive. . . . It was a setback that the April 24 march could not come off as scheduled."**

throughout the city, including attacks on lone Blacks and Puerto Ricans by white thugs, and an attack on Blacks trying to use Carson Beach, a public facility in South Boston.

In response to this, a community picnic, organized mainly by the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), was held at the beach.

The purpose of the picnic was to assert the democratic right of Blacks to freely go anywhere in the city. On three days' notice more than 1,000 supporters of that democratic right came to Carson Beach.

Despite the refusal of the cops to protect the picnickers, the Black com-

it the use of busing to desegregate schools. A national antibusing march was called by the Louisville racist organization United Labor Against Busing for April 24 in Washington, D.C. It was supported by Boston racist groups.

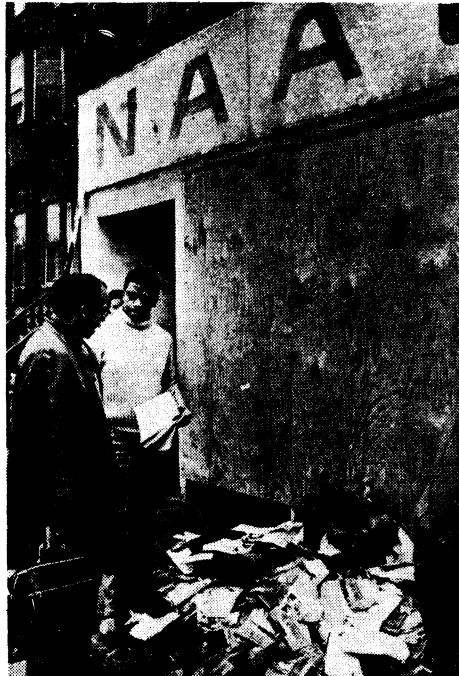
This offensive by the racists posed the need for another show of force to answer the reactionaries and to demand that the government protect Black lives and rights.

The April 24 march for school desegregation and busing was called to respond to this need.

The potential to build a successful probusing demonstration clearly existed. Although the racists had strong



# ...why Boston march was called off:



Since fall of 1974, Boston racists have waged sustained terror campaign against Blacks, while city, state and federal officials have looked the other way. From left to right: Jean-Louis André Yvon scrambled to escape from South Boston lynch mob

October 7, 1974; Boston NAACP headquarters bombed December 10, 1975; school bus bombed April 3, 1976; attorney Theodore Landsmark savagely assaulted outside Boston City Hall April 5, 1976.

## Continued from preceding page

Street Church, Rev. Vernon Carter, and a few other initial signers of the call came together. The coalition was multiracial.

A steering committee was formed made up of representatives of different organizations and individuals who supported the march. Dixon was elected project director for the march, and an office in Roxbury was obtained.

The coalition held weekly meetings open to the public at its offices.

Although the march was initiated by prominent Black community leaders, few of them attended coalition meetings. But the coalition functioned with an understanding that all its decisions would be based not only on the opinions of the fifty to sixty people who attended coalition meetings regularly, but also on the views of the key Black leaders supporting the action.

Black leaders from antipoverty agencies and community organizations, leaders like Ellen Jackson, Ruth Batson, and Percy Wilson—all supporters of the march—were regularly consulted about the preparations for the action. The NAACP, although not an endorser of the march, was also consulted.

The decisions of the coalition, however, were made at weekly meetings, which were open to all.

## Weaknesses of coalition

The most significant weakness of the coalition was the decision by the largest and oldest civil rights organization in the country—the NAACP—not to back April 24. This decision was a blow to the potential size of the action.

Although some NAACP branches around the country endorsed the march, the central and most important branch—Boston—did not. This decision reflected the opinion of Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the NAACP Board of Directors.

Wilson sent a letter to Maceo Dixon, Ellen Jackson, and Ruth Batson in response to their initial letter to gain support for a national march. She wrote:

"In response to your letter of February 20, 1976, for tactical reasons I express reservations about your suggestion for another march in the near future in support of public school desegregation in Boston.

"First, the NAACP-NASCAR demonstration [on May 17, 1975] was a success and showed Boston, as well as the rest of the nation that there is a considerable reservoir of sentiment within our citizenry that favored our prescribed course toward achieving racial justice and equality in American schools.

"Second, the enemies of equal justice are seeking all opportunities in this

election year to inflame passions and foster hatred in an attempt to bolster the standing of the most reactionary candidates. We must avoid handing them an opportunity to capitalize on latent fears.

"Instead, I see an urgent need for us to organize massive voter registration and education campaigns on college campuses across the nation, and in minority communities around the country. NASCAR, with its national-wide network, can play a key role in this regard. In a critical year, like 1976, we cannot allow a repeat of the experience of 1972, when voters stayed away from the polls in large numbers. The political process offers immeasurable opportunities to bring about positive social change, but such oppor-

however, stated at this meeting that he would not discourage members from marching and that he himself would support the march but not publicly.

The effect of the Boston NAACP decision was to make support for the march much narrower than it could have been. It also gave a boost to government-inspired forces to escalate their campaign to stop the march.

The next blow occurred when another powerful Black organization decided not to endorse the march—the Nation of Islam.

## Nation of Islam

In the process of shedding many of its old ways, the Nation had declared it would become more active in communi-

**"Since school desegregation began, racist gangs backed by elected officials have been on the offensive. . . . The Black community and its supporters have been less organized, and their actions have been primarily limited to responding to anti-Black violence."**

tunities can only be realized if the people most affected appreciate the value of their vote."

## Blow to march

This decision to counterpose voter registration and relying on capitalist candidates in 1976 to building a demonstration and a movement in defense of busing dealt a blow to the march.

In fact, with the elections taking place, more people are thinking politically than normally, and a demonstration for Black rights could be highly successful if called by an array of authoritative Black leaders.

This would even be the best way to force presidential candidates to deal with Black issues. Thus far, all the capitalist candidates have openly opposed busing or have said little about Blacks.

This decision by the national NAACP helps explain the refusal of the Boston branch to endorse the march.

Region II of the NAACP, which represents most of the East Coast branches, also voted not to endorse the march after leaders from Boston said the action would be counterproductive at this time.

On April 7, the Boston NAACP Board of Directors met again and reaffirmed their decision not to endorse the march. Two leaders of the coalition had asked for a reconsideration. Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins

ty struggles. Several weeks before the march, national spokesperson Abdul Farrakhan indicated the Nation's support to busing in Boston. At the same time, representatives from the Boston mosque regularly came to coalition meetings. Yet, the Nation finally decided not to endorse the action. It never explained why.

Nor was the march able to win widespread support from Black labor leaders or from the labor movement in general.

Labor hasn't done much for busing or Black rights in years. But the fact that racist members of trade unions were behind the antibusing march called for Washington, D.C., made it especially important for the labor movement to have supported the Boston action on that same day.

Tom Turner of the Metro-Council AFL-CIO of Detroit did attend a news conference in Boston to support the march, and a few local unions passed resolutions of endorsement. These significant steps, however, did not lead to labor's active building of the march.

If even one of these significant forces had supported April 24 when it was called, the potential size and breadth of the march would have been much greater than any previous demonstration.

Even though there were more formal endorsements for this march than any previous ones, earlier marches had prominent individuals up front building them. The activist wing of the

desegregation movement, the students of NSCAR, became the only force building April 24 in a major way.

April 24 coalition meetings, for example, were largely white, and the main forces active in the coalition besides NSCAR included the National Lawyers Guild, Socialist Workers party, white liberals from various churches, the Maoist October League, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

Despite the weaknesses of the coalition, the crying need for the Black community to respond to the continuous racist violence helped build the march. This is why so many national figures endorsed the march and why it was difficult for opponents of the march to publicly attack it.

April 24 became a pole of attraction for those seeking a way to respond to anti-Black terror.

And because the march was to go through the Black community, a great potential existed to pull into the demonstration hundreds of Blacks who had never marched before.

The growing response to the march in the Black community was underlined when the Black newspaper the *Bay State Banner* ran a free full-page ad for the event.

## Had to be crushed

From the point of view of the racist movement and the government, April 24 had to be crushed. A big, predominantly Black march would give great confidence to the Black community to fight back and would deal the racists a blow.

Further developments in Boston made the April 24 march an increasingly obvious focus for opponents of racist violence.

On April 5 a gang of white high school students attacked Black attorney Theodore Landsmark outside of city hall with a flagpole.

This lynch-type attack made national and international news. It provided such a shocking picture of the situation in Boston to the entire country that the state legislature condemned the violent act.

This event led many more Blacks and whites to support April 24. For example, most national leaders who agreed to speak on April 24 did so after Landsmark's beating. This included Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rev. Willie Barrows of Operation PUSH; Tom Turner of the Detroit AFL-CIO; and Joe Madison, executive secretary of the Detroit NAACP.

With the Black community on the political offensive, the April 24 coalition asked for the right to use city council chambers for its next meeting



# lessons for antiracist movement

on April 19. Why? To exert the probusing movement's right to use public facilities to organize its activities. The city council, under the pressure of events, agreed.

The following week 300 people packed city council chambers for the meeting. A small victory was scored for the Black community.

The racists did not slow down, however. A few days later a Black man was attacked in the Boston Common. Racist squads made forays into the Black community.

## Refuses to act

Despite pleas by Black leaders for more protection, the government did not act. This led some Black leaders, such as Rev. Rafe Taylor and State Sen. William Owens, to assert the right of the Black community to defend itself if the government refused to halt racist attacks.

Owens and Taylor stated this at a news conference in front of city hall on April 6 after Landsmark's beating.

On April 8 an all-Black meeting was held in city hall to discuss what to do next. At it an announcement was made that a Black, all-male security force was being organized to patrol the Black community.

Then on Monday, April 19, a white man was beaten in Roxbury by Black youth in retaliation for the daily racist attacks.

This marked a turning point.

The Black community was now placed on the defensive. The city government—which had done nothing to halt the violence against Blacks that provoked the retaliation—and the news media launched a campaign to “stop the violence on all sides.” In essence it was a campaign to place the blame on Blacks for the situation.

Black leaders began to buckle to pressure. They called for an end to all violence and any actions that in their opinion could provoke violence. The focus of the pressure by the government to “cool it” was directed at the April 24 march organizers and supporters.

Finally on April 20, key Black supporters of the march withdrew their endorsement. They said they feared a bloodbath would occur and that no march could be peacefully organized

under the present circumstances.

This left the coalition with no significant Black community endorsers of the march and with the government on the offensive.

This change was decisive. Not only was support for the march dwindling but forces opposed to the action from the beginning were emboldened.

William Owens, at the news conference after the Landsmark beating, had already publicly dissociated himself from the march and said he was opposed to busing.

Members of the sectarian All African Peoples Revolutionary party, which also opposes busing, began to circulate rumors in the Black community that April 24 was to be a communist-led anti-Black march.

The lie was also spread in the community that the march would be led by white racists from South Boston. The march was to be multiracial, a show of whites and Blacks in support of desegregation marching together.

**“The April 24 march was postponed, but future mass marches will be held. The racists did not stop the civil rights movement from destroying Jim Crow segregation, nor will they be able to stop the probusing movement of today.”**

In addition, the all-male Black “security force” that had recently been set up was led by people openly hostile to the march. Word had gone out that this body's purpose was to “deal with” whites in the Black community.

Floyd Williams, the head of the security group, circulated a slander about the chief marshal of the April 24 action, Mac Warren. He claimed Warren, who had gone to observe an April 15 meeting of the “security force,” was kicked out for saying the purpose of April 24 was to “assassinate” Mayor White.

Although he apologized for this slander later, in the context of the growing racial polarization these types of rumors only served to embolden cops and agents-provocateurs out to crush the demonstration.

A situation was created where many in the Black community began to believe that April 24 was going to be a racist-led march through the Black community for the purpose of a confrontation with the cops.

It is against this background—of deep confusion in the community, the growing political isolation of the coalition, and what smacked of a government-inspired Cointelpro-type campaign to sabotage the action—that the organizers decided to call off the April 24 march and rally.

## Necessary decision

It was a setback that the march could not come off as scheduled. But the decision to call it off was clearly necessary.

As Dixon explained at the coalition meeting on April 22, given the narrowness of support for the march, there was no way to guarantee the safety of the marchers from the very real threat

of violence that now existed. Therefore it would have been irresponsible to go ahead with the action. What was necessary was a tactical retreat that would allow time for the probusing forces to regroup and move ahead in the future.

The truth had to be faced and told to the public. It was dangerous to march on April 24.

Based on this assessment Dixon had organized the news conference where, flanked by a broad array of community leaders, he announced the action was off.

Public sentiment during the week before the march was for peace and quiet. This is why Mayor White was able to pull off the April 23 “peace march” (announced about two hours after the April 24 march was called

off). Although its purpose was to attempt to take the blame for violence off the city government, most of those who made up the 95 percent white crowd were seriously for an end to violence.

## What next?

The decision to postpone the April 24 action does not mean the racists have won the war. Maceo Dixon explained at the April 21 news conference, “We are going to participate in building a massive movement for school desegregation and against these racist attacks. We will help forge a leadership in this city for that purpose and that movement will win. We will not be stopped.”

Along those lines the National Student Coalition Against Racism is on a campaign to educate the public on who is responsible for the violence in Boston: the government and the racist antibusing movement.

In addition, Dixon and other leaders of the coalition are discussing with Boston and national leaders the need to exert more pressure on the government to enforce the law, including the use of federal troops in racist strongholds to protect Black youth.

And because of repeated threats against Black leaders and because of attacks by racist gangs against Blacks in general, NSCAR and other community leaders have stated their support for the right of the Black community to defend itself if the government refuses to act.

More than ever a national counter-mobilization of the Black community and its supporters is needed to answer the racist attacks. National support is needed to show the world that the bigots of Boston are a minority and don't speak for humanity.

April 24 was postponed, but future mass marches will be held—and soon. The racists did not stop the civil rights movement from destroying the Jim Crow segregation system in the South, nor will the racists be able to defeat the probusing and prodesegregation movement of today.

This setback in Boston marks a lesson that will not be lost. As Dixon said, “We will not be stopped.”

## Chief ‘Southie’ thug threatens Black leaders

By Marcel Black

BOSTON—“We have numerous Blacks working in here,” Warren Zaniboni, the commander of the 350 thugs called the South Boston Marshals, said. “They’ve never been hurt. Those are not the type of people the South Boston Marshals are looking for.”

“We’re looking for Tom Atkins and Maceo Dixon.”

Atkins is the head of the Boston NAACP and Dixon is a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

The quote is from the April 27 issue of the Boston *Phoenix*, in an interview conducted by staff writer Tom Sheehan with the racist leader.

Zaniboni was lying about the safety of Blacks working in South Boston. Stonings, gang beatings, and threats against Blacks have turned the all-white area into a virtual fortress, where the paramilitary marshals and semiorganized bands of bigots enforce a discipline of terror not only against Blacks, but also against neighborhood whites who don't salute every racist command.

That Zaniboni would so openly threaten the lives of two leaders of the desegregation struggle underlines the



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins and NSCAR Coordinator Maceo Dixon were singled out by head of South Boston vigilante squad as two Blacks they were ‘looking for.’

ominous situation facing Blacks in Boston today.

Dixon told the *Militant* that an April 28 NSCAR news conference would demand that law enforcement officials move against Zaniboni and “his band of organized racist terrorists.”

“We must stand up to their frenzy



Militant/Jon Hillson

and violence, we must speak out and demand our rights be enforced. We do not intend to let these criminals intimidate the probusing movement,” Dixon told the *Militant*.

What does “looking for” Atkins and Dixon mean? Zaniboni did not elaborate.

If his marshals see an “emergency” involving Blacks develop, “then we’d have to move in as citizens,” Zaniboni told the *Phoenix*.

What does “move in” mean? Zaniboni didn't say.

Blacks, he said, “may be waiting for us to lay down, but we’re not going to. They may be like the Japs in the Second World War and pull a surprise attack. We were fearful about them coming in here after our First Lady, Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, or our Rep, Mr. [Raymond] Flynn.”

Zaniboni has come to the fore in the midst of the crisis in Boston.

His message: fear, hysteria, violence. Last December, his brigade of thugs emerged from semisecrecy for a strategy session with Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon David Duke.

Their rhetoric is Jim Crow white supremacy—the Jim Crow white supremacy of two decades ago.

But the reality is bicentennial Boston in 1976.

And you cannot hear the mayor, the top cops, the governor, or anyone like them take on one dangerous gutter hooligan like Warren Zaniboni and the small army of anti-Black fanatics who are deadly serious about “looking for” someone to “move in” on.

## The truth about Mayor White's march

# Boston officials pray for peace, talk tough,

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—An explosive tension permeates Boston today, as the city reels under the impact of more than two weeks of anti-Black terror and racial polarization.

The mood of fear and hostility generated by the racist drive against court-ordered desegregation hit a new peak during the week of April 19. Forays by white hooligans into Roxbury and gang beatings of Blacks provoked outbursts of retaliation against whites.

On April 22 a huge dynamite explosion tore floors and walls out of Suffolk County Courthouse in downtown Boston, hospitalizing nineteen people.

Initial reports linked the bombing to the ongoing crisis in the city. But on April 23, the *Real Paper*, a Boston weekly, received a communication from the "Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit" claiming responsibility for the explosion. The note stated that the bombing was to protest poor conditions in Walpole State Prison.

On April 21, the day before the bombing, Mayor Kevin White had called a "peace march" designed to "denounce violence."

### Mayor's 'peace march'

The mayor announced the event just hours after a news conference of Black community leaders made public their decision to postpone the April 24 national probusing march on Boston because of the refusal of Mayor White and law enforcement officials to ensure adequate protection for the participants.

On April 23, upwards of 20,000 people marched in the mayor's "peace procession" from the Boston Common to Boston City Hall. There they heard Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic religious leaders deplore "violence" and call for prayer to "heal the city's wounds."

The rally was built by a massive media barrage, along with the declaration of a virtual holiday for city, state, and federal employees in Boston. Downtown business workers were given four-hour lunch breaks, and the University of Massachusetts Boston campus was closed for the day.

Banners and placards were banned from the silent procession. The march was led by White, Gov. Michael Dukakis, Sen. Edward Kennedy, and Sen. Edward Brooke. They were joined by an array of congresspeople, university and college presidents, clergy, and lower-echelon elected officials.

A number of Black community leaders and organizations, including the NAACP, backed the event. Other



Mayor Kevin White strikes prayerful pose as 20,000 take part in official city government 'peace march.' Crackdown on antibusing vigilante squads, lynch mobs, bus bombers, and brick throwers—not rhetoric—is what's needed to stop violence.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Black leaders, such as State Rep. Doris Bunte and veteran Black civil rights leader Ruth Batson, stayed away. Less than 5 percent of the marchers were Black or Puerto Rican.

Maceo Dixon, a young Black community leader and coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), criticized Mayor White's intentions in calling the march in a statement reported widely by the Boston media.

"Mayor White will not cover up two years of morally bankrupt leadership by his march today. At every step of the way," Dixon said, "he has aided and comforted the antibusing criminals who have today whipped up the hysteria they have deliberately sought in attempting to crush Judge Garrity's [desegregation] order."

Dixon said that Mayor White, as Boston's chief law enforcement official, must shoulder full responsibility for the anti-Black violence over the past two years because of his refusal to arrest and prosecute racist attackers.

"Yes," Dixon told the media, "a

march is needed today, but a march that says the law, the desegregation order, must be applied fully and firmly. A march that says that federal prosecution of antibusing conspirators is needed now. A march that demands that federal troops be on hand and fully deployed in South Boston and Charlestown when the buses carrying our Black youth roll into areas where racist 'marshals' have declared open season on Black 'outsiders.'"

The capitalist media have tried to conceal the real source of the current polarization here—the refusal of government agencies to stop by any necessary means the defiance of court ordered busing. They have placed an equals sign between the two-year campaign of racist terror sanctioned by city hall and the recent, sporadic retaliation by Black youth

### What White wanted

The rapid spread of violence here has placed in jeopardy the millions of bicentennial dollars expected to line the pockets of Boston's banks and big

businesses this summer. There is also mounting concern in influential circles that the entire city may explode. These factors have caused Boston's ruling rich to clamp down on "Black and white extremism."

The mayor's march was a dramatic way to galvanize support for such an "antiviolence" campaign. White also hoped to deflect attention away from the issues of busing and Black rights.

At the same time, many Bostonians genuinely concerned about the antibusing terror found the mayor's march a way from their standpoint to express such a view. Many would have marched on April 24 as well.

Racist leader Louise Day Hicks, when asked if she would participate in the march, said, "No, no, never, never." Other top figures in the racist movement wrongly termed the march "probusing."

So the mayor's hope of "uniting" Black leaders with the sworn enemies of Black rights around a common concern over "violence" never materialized.

The closest the bigots came to the event was the city hall balcony, where South Boston thugs shouted racist epithets at the procession.

While the bigots railed against the event, the Charlestown Marshals announced their plans for a city-wide "men's march against busing," set for May 2 in Charlestown.

### Continuing anti-Black terror

Law enforcement officials are now under great public pressure to "cool things down." In the wake of the Suffolk County Courthouse bombing, Governor Dukakis announced the formation of a "special police unit" combining federal, state, county, and local law enforcement officials to stop "racial violence."

The public pressure for safety was reflected in a greater police presence than usual at South Boston and Charlestown high schools on April 26.

But the religious good will expressed from the podium at city hall has not stemmed the surge of anti-Black terror.

On April 23 and 24, Black drivers in Dorchester, Jamaica Plain, and South Boston were stoned by gangs of whites. Three South Boston hooligans were arrested, but were released on personal recognizance.

City buses driven by Black operators were also attacked by hails of rocks.

Retaliation against whites continued in Roxbury, with isolated stonings and one attack, which resulted in minor injuries.

On April 26, South Boston High School opened with 130 white students refusing to enter the school in protest

## A brush with death in South Boston

BOSTON—It was a living nightmare that the carload of four African students had driven into, as a wrong turn on a trip from New York City became a brush with death in South Boston.

The students had veered off into the all-white area on April 23 on their way to a weekend conference on "Solidarity with Eritrea."

Miriam Yohannes told the *Militant* what happened next. "We were lost, and we asked directions from a man. He gave us the wrong directions. We had no idea where we were," the eighteen-year-old student said.

Suddenly, a red car blocked their vehicle in the middle of a deserted street. "Then we were surrounded by four or five cars," Yohannes told me.

She said she saw "radios, like police radios, in the cars. It was so fast how they came."

The Eritreans had driven into a patrol of the paramilitary South Boston Marshals Association, which "guards" the area to "protect the community" from "Black troublemakers."

The Klan-like antibusing group has helped organize the racist terror facing Boston's Black citizens for months.

"We were terrified. We pulled up the windows and locked the doors. Our car couldn't budge. They rushed out, swearing and cursing, and were on the car immediately," Yohannes said.

The racists demanded the windows be pulled down, several of them reaching inside their shirts and jackets. "I

knew they had guns, they were reaching for something, for guns, you could feel it," Yohannes went on.

"We began shouting, 'We're foreigners! We're foreigners!' We were frightened to death. There was no one around. One of them could tell by our accents we were not Americans," Yohannes said.

Finally, the hooligans understood. They told the students, "There's a lot of trouble here with the desegregation. We have to know why Blacks come in here, where they're coming from."

"They told us they would show us out and give us directions. One of them apologized," Yohannes said.

The racists escorted them to the edge of South Boston, where the driver of

the African students' car spotted a police station. He walked inside, and moments later two or three cops came out.

"They told us it was the marshals, that it was OK, and to follow them, and they talked with the marshals like they knew them," Yohannes said.

"We had heard about Boston, but we never knew it was this bad," she said.

Yohannes is convinced that their being from another country saved the students. If they had been Black Americans, she says, "They would have beaten us, they would have killed us, used their guns. There was no one around, no one. I am convinced, I am sure. When it started, we said to each other, 'This is the end.'"

—J.H.



# do nothing as anti-Black violence mounts

of the recent hiring of Headmaster Jerome Winegar, a member of the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union.

A bomb threat emptied the school for about forty-five minutes. Only a handful of Black students boarded the buses that day to South Boston, and overall school attendance was down.

Opponents of busing are hoping for incidents in the schools. Their aim is to show that the social toll of desegregation proves it cannot work.

This is the substance of Mayor White's recent appeal of Judge W. Arthur Garrity's desegregation order to the U.S. Supreme Court. The capitalist media have joined this more sophisticated antibusing campaign by carefully reporting incidents to portray Blacks as just as responsible for violence as whites.

## The real story

But the facts of reported incidents alone in the past two weeks tell the real story. On April 16, in two separate attacks, lone Blacks were beaten senseless in East Boston's Maverick Square. The beatings were not reported in Boston's major news media.

At 9:00 p.m., a Black Cambridge resident was kicked in the face until he lost consciousness.

Two hours later, in front of East Boston's Little City Hall, another Black was beaten by a thug wielding a golf club and then kicked to the ground by a gang of ten whites. One lifelong East Boston resident who helped break up the assault stated, "His face was smashed up so bad I could hardly see what he looked like. They might have killed this Black guy if we hadn't stepped in."

On April 21, thirty racists in Dorchester smashed and stoned a car containing Toni Jackson and her five-year-old son. "The only thing I could think of was that I was going to die," she said. "I didn't feel the blows. I was just ready to die. I just hoped that my son would live."

On April 24, the *Boston Globe* printed an article describing the gang beating of Joseph Henry at the hands of seven whites—a full three days after it happened. Henry sustained an eye injury and two broken wrists. His cheekbone had to be wired together.

An article in the April 27 *Boston Phoenix* about the April 21 beating by Black youths of Richard Poleet, a white man, provided some background



Toni Jackson receives first aid while her five-year-old son watches after having been attacked by thirty whites April 21.

to the atmosphere in Roxbury prior to the retaliation. Black residents of a housing project there told of carloads of rifle- and pistol-firing whites rampaging through the community just hours before the beating.

It was the attack on Poleet that sparked the latest wave of anti-Black hysteria here.

Other instances of white vigilante assaults are widely known in the Black community, but go virtually unreport-

ed in the capitalist media. White motorcycle gangs roared through Mattapan on April 22, and white hooligans shouted racist epithets as they roamed through Mission Hill and Roxbury the same day.

The truth is that racist "marshals" and white street gangs—the fiery core of antibusing resistance—have made Black people their human targets across the city. It is in this context that retaliation occurs.

And it is in this context that Mayor White's "evenhanded" treatment of "Black and white violence" could become an iron fist for Roxbury youth and a velvet glove for the racists. Governor Dukakis's new "antiviolence" unit has a similar ominous potential.

If government officials fail to wield the force at their disposal to stem anti-Black violence, Black community leaders here have said, Blacks will have to exercise their legal and democratic right to take steps to ensure their own safety.

The buses here will roll until the closing of school June 16, just five days before the official beginning of summer.

But Boston's hot summer is already here, in the streets and in the schools.

Supporters of Black rights must be vigilant and prepared at a moment's notice to mobilize nationally in defense of Boston's embattled Black community.

## Union leaders back school desegregation

By Erich Martel

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Trade union leaders here held a news conference April 22 to reaffirm the labor movement's support for school desegregation in the face of the April 24 antibusing march.

Present at the conference were William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union; William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Robert Peterson, president of the Greater Washington Central Labor Council.

All three labor leaders called on the federal government to enforce

the law of the land in Boston and defend school desegregation.

Lucy said that the CBTU wholeheartedly supports busing. He decried the fact that at no level of government is there a "loud, strong, moral force being used to check the violence against many citizens of Boston."

Robert Peterson asserted that "the antibusing people are against busing because they are anti-Black." He distributed copies of the AFL-CIO's resolution endorsing the use of busing for the purposes of desegregation, which was reaffirmed at its 1975 convention.

William Simons made clear that the racist antibusing marchers, who claim to represent the labor move-

ment, "have no sanction from the labor movement."

In a statement released to the media Simons said: "If those who would reverse the decisions which ordered busing should prevail, this would be but a prelude to the erosion which would follow in other areas. In rapid succession, we would witness the operation of the domino theory in the whole spectrum of civil rights. . . ."

"Only a concerted effort on the part of all citizens will foil the grandiose plan to reimpose the shackles upon those citizens who after 200 years, are still asking when will this country indeed become 'One nation . . . indivisible, with liberty and justice for all?'"

## Nat'l rally against 'forced busing' fizzles

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Fewer than 2,000 racists demanding an end to "forced busing" marched on the Capitol here April 24. The protest's organizer—a Louisville outfit called United Labor Against Busing—had predicted a turnout of 40,000 to 50,000.

The weather was great, and many of those who did show up came prepared to spend a few days to take in the sights. Even under such ideal conditions the action flopped, according to ULAB head Jack Shore, because, "People in this country are lazy, or else they just don't particularly care about what's being done to them."

The ULAB claims a membership of some eighty union locals from Kentucky's Logan and Jefferson counties. A ULAB demonstration last October in Washington attracted more than 6,000.

The biggest section of the April 24 march came from Kentucky, but they were joined by racists from Boston; Detroit; Charleston, West Virginia;

and Prince Georges County, Maryland.

Apart from the chants of "Burn, burn, burn the bus," and "We are the rednecks, the mighty, mighty, rednecks," the march had the aura of a grotesque parade. American and Confederate flags virtually outnumbered the protesters. Bizarre bicentennial costumes with antibusing slogans embroidered on them were interspersed with official ULAB and South Boston Marshals windbreakers.

Shore chaired the Capitol rally and set its defensive tone from the start. "ULAB does not stand for United Labor Against Blacks," he said.

While in scattered, informal conversations you could hear some talk of "niggers," the speakers meticulously steered clear of any such overt racism.

The racists even conjured up one Black speaker, a somewhat eccentric minister from Detroit named Philip Loving. His rambling speech elicited scattered heckling as he blasted the

"unseen forces of evil" responsible for busing as well as the murders of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

"How about George Lincoln Rockwell?" somebody yelled. Rockwell, now dead, was the head of the American Nazi party.

Boston City Council President Louise Day Hicks proclaimed there would be no "freedom" in Boston "until we do away with busing."

Other speakers threatened the recessed Congress with the power of organized labor, claiming that this small congregation of antibusing neanderthals represented the American union movement.

"If you don't think organized labor can replace you, look again," orated Kentucky State Rep. Archie Romines.

The one speaker that "everybody is waiting for," according to Shore, never showed up. That was Georgia's Larry McDonald, who holds dual membership in the U.S. House of Representatives and the John Birch Society.



Militant/Nancy Cole

# N.Y. meeting protests racist terror in Boston

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—One hundred fifty people attended an April 24 emergency meeting called on three days' notice to protest the rising tide of racist attacks on Blacks in Boston. The meeting was initiated by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), and many of those present were SCAR activists from campuses throughout the city.

The featured speaker was Hattie McCutcheon, a SCAR national leader from Boston. She reported on the sharp increase in threats of anti-Black violence there that led to the postponement of the prodesegregation march originally scheduled to be held April 24.

McCutcheon said the march postponement reflected the fact that supporters of Black rights were being driven off the streets of Boston and in effect being denied the right of free assembly.

While characterizing this turn of events as "a setback for the desegregation struggle," she emphasized that the need to build mass support for the embattled Black community of that



Militant/Lou Howort  
Hattie McCutcheon, Boston SCAR leader, presented report on racist violence.

city "is now greater than ever. We need more marches, more picket lines, more meetings like this one to educate people all over the country to the truth about Boston."

New York SCAR coordinator Cathy Sedwick proposed the launching of an immediate educational campaign in New York on the Boston situation. The campaign would include a tour of SCAR activists to speak at meetings on campuses and before community groups, and an intensive solicitation of telegrams from campus and community leaders.

Telegrams protesting the Boston city government's failure to provide protection for the Black community are to be directed to Mayor Kevin White.

After a wide-ranging discussion, Sedwick's proposal was accepted unanimously by the participants in the meeting.

Other speakers included veteran civil rights fighter Jim Peck, Ralph Boozer of the Grady High School SCAR chapter in Brooklyn, and Bernard Wiltshire of the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee.



Militant/Lou Howort  
Cathy Sedwick, New York SCAR coordinator, proposed city-wide educational campaign on Boston situation.

# Cleve. pickets demand: 'Keep the buses rolling'

By Joe Kear

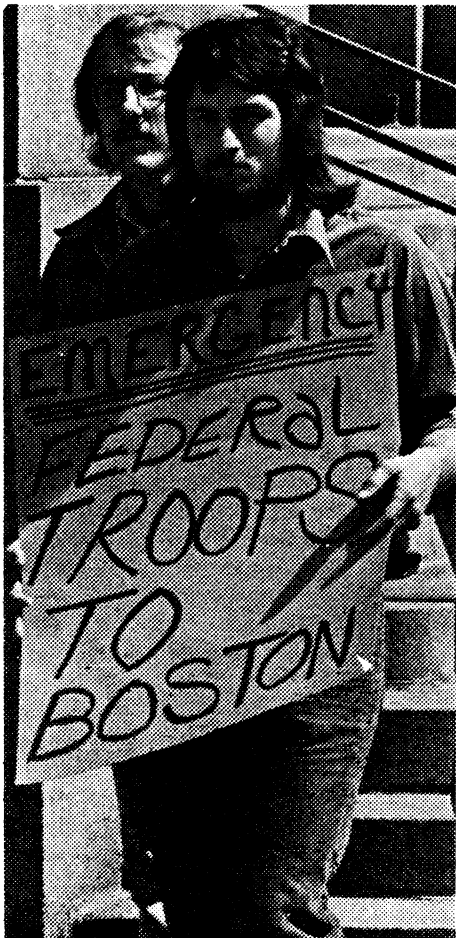
CLEVELAND—More than fifty people picketed the federal courthouse here April 24 to protest antibusing violence in Boston. The picket line was called by the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

When the April 24 march on Boston was postponed, SCAR consulted with leaders of the Cleveland NAACP and decided to proceed with an action in Cleveland.

Shouts of "Stop attacks on Boston Blacks" and "Keep the buses rolling" rang out from the spirited picket line, which was filmed by two television stations. Later, five radio stations taped statements from SCAR explaining why the protest was needed.

The picket line was publicized by a tour of Cleveland by Trudy Hawkins, coordinator of the Detroit SCAR. Hawkins spoke April 22 at Cuyahoga Community College and Cleveland State University, where she urged students to turn out for the picket line.

"We have to send a clear message to the authorities in Boston," Hawkins said, "letting them know they must begin to defend Black rights in Boston. The best way is to make this picket line one big telegram that reads: '200 years is enough! Stop the violence against Black people in Boston!'"



Militant/Glenn Campbell

# Manhattan parents fight early school closings

By Marie Rivera

NEW YORK—Parents in District Three on the West Side of Manhattan have won a round in their fight against early school closings dictated by the central board of education.

Their struggle began last fall. The United Federation of Teachers leadership ended a five-day strike by signing a contract that provided for the elimination of two class periods each week.

Parent reaction against this proposed loss in classroom time was overwhelmingly negative. Twenty-two of the thirty-two community school boards throughout New York City took the central board of education to court in an unsuccessful attempt to block the move.

On March 8, parents on Manhattan's West Side began sitting in at school facilities to demand restoration of the ninety minutes a week of instruction time.

In reaction to this pressure, on March 31 the District Three school board voted to return to the old schedule, saying that by making cuts in other areas it had been able to come up with enough funds to restore class time without exceeding the budget allocated to it by the central board.

However, about a week later school Chancellor Irving Anker superseded

the local board and appointed Alfredo Mathew as trustee of the district.

Mathew immediately tried to shorten the school week. But protesting parents succeeded in blocking delivery of Mathew's written orders to the principals of seven of the twenty-three schools in District Three.

Early in the morning of Monday, April 12, Mathew and a contingent of school guards prevented parents from going inside. Several parents who tried to enter were arrested and, after being given summonses, released. The following day, Mathew tried similar tactics, and more arrests ensued.

The strong-arm tactics drew widespread protests, and on April 14, the last day of school before the spring break, Anker withdrew Mathew and the guards.

During the spring break an informal agreement was reached between Anker and members of the District Three board. Anker agreed to drop charges against the parents and to permanently withdraw the guards and Mathew.

Anker also promised to take no reprisals against principals who had kept their schools open longer than the central board allowed, and also said he would take no action against officials of several schools if they kept school open longer than allowed when classes resumed April 26.



Militant/Ruthann Miller  
Parents crowd meetings of community school board for District Three in Manhattan to discuss struggle against cutbacks in instruction time.

# Cornell U. Blacks slam firing of administrator

By Doug Cooper

ITHACA, N.Y.—Hundreds of students—Black, Latino, Asian, and white—have mobilized to protest the firing of a Black administrator at Cornell University here.

Herbert Parker, assistant director of financial aid at Cornell, was fired on March 25. Students see the firing as the latest in a series of administration moves to destroy the gains made by minority students over the past decade.

The administration has "decentralized" the minority admissions and financial aid programs, raised tuition, lowered financial aid packages, and tried to dismantle the predominantly Black Ujamaa residential college.

On April 19 students rallied to demand reinstatement of Parker, an investigation into the firing, and a change in status for Parker's position, making it accountable to the incoming associate dean of financial aid and admissions, who is to be selected in consultation with the Black community.

Speakers included Stokely Carmichael. After the rally the protestors marched to the Cornell administration building and then marched through the building.

The next day, April 20, a rally was held at Willard Straight Hall on the seventh anniversary of the 1969 take-

over of that building by Black students during a struggle for Black studies.

After the rally, 300 students marched to the university admissions office and occupied it. They later left that building and occupied Day Hall, the administration building.

The demonstrators left Day Hall at 2:30 the following morning after a temporary restraining order was issued by state supreme court justice Frederick Bryant. Bryant's order singled out three Black student leaders—Makaza Kumanyika, Deborah Harrison, and Ron Robinson. Robinson is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

On April 23, 200 students marched from Cornell to the county courthouse in downtown Ithaca to protest the restraining order. As a result of this march, the court order was dropped.

The university administration, seeking to victimize student protesters, has activated campus judicial proceedings and issued exaggerated reports to the media about alleged damage to university facilities during what the administration falsely claims were "riots."

Students have responded by demanding unconditional amnesty for all protesters and by stepping up efforts to win broad support for their struggle in defense of minority education.



# Watergate in '68

# How the FBI 'found' a briefcase

By Larry Seigle

Late one afternoon in the first week of October 1968, a car pulled up in front of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church at the corner of Fillmore and Fell Street in San Francisco. A candidate for president of the United States got out of the car and went into the church.

Within minutes, secret-police agents, employed by the federal government, broke into the car and stole the candidate's briefcase and raincoat.

The church housed the office for the GI March for Peace, which was scheduled to take place Saturday, October 12. GIs were actively involved in organizing the demonstration.

Soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen came by the church to put in a few hours of work and to pick up leaflets and stickers to distribute. GIs on their way to Vietnam also stopped in to collect a supply of antiwar literature to take with them into the war zone.

The presidential candidate was Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers party. Halstead was known nationally as a leader and central organizer of the antiwar movement. He had just returned from a trip to Saigon, where he had spoken with active-duty GIs.

Halstead came to the church to meet the GI activists and to express his support for their demonstration. He gave them a short rundown on his trip, emphasizing the friendly response he had gotten from GIs who were receptive to antiwar ideas.

Not so receptive, however, was the U.S. government. The FBI was bent on disrupting both Halstead's campaign and the antiwar movement.

## Secret FBI files

Proof that the government stole and illegally kept Halstead's briefcase is contained in one document among more than 500 pages of files recently

turned over by the FBI. The documents show that the FBI has been watching Halstead for nearly thirty years—since the time he joined the Socialist Workers party.

During his 1968 campaign, FBI agents recorded his public appearances, his attendance at meetings, his statements to the press, and even his scheduled arrival and departure times in the cities on his campaign tours.

Among the things the government didn't like about Halstead was the impact he was having in convincing the antiwar movement that it could win GIs as allies, and in getting the antiwar message to GIs themselves. Some 115,000 copies of an open letter to GIs from Halstead were distributed throughout the United States and in Britain, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and Germany.

"No one has a better right to oppose the war than a combat GI," wrote Halstead in the open letter. "And while I understand that GIs are in a tight spot, I also know that there is no law that says that GIs have to be brainwashed, or that they do not have the right to think for themselves, or to read different points of view on the war, or to discuss the war."

"I also believe they ought to have the right to demonstrate against the war. . . ."

## Antiwar stirrings in army

The rulers of this country saw the beginnings of antiwar stirrings inside the ranks of the military as a serious threat to their war-making machine. In the Pentagon, frantic conferences were called to discuss ways of reversing the spread of antiwar talk, literature, and actions—sometimes spontaneous, sometimes organized—that GIs were beginning to take.

Near the top of the Pentagon's concerns in October 1968 was the peace march that was being organized out of the Sacred Heart church. This was a historic event: the first large-scale participation of GIs in an organized fashion in the antiwar movement.

One panicky Air Force general had sent an urgent personal message to Gen. John McConnell, Air Force chief of staff: "Strongly believe this demonstration should be quashed if possible because of possible severe impact on military discipline throughout the services." The message complained about "the highly undesirable impact on military discipline if armed forces personnel are permitted to demonstrate in uniform against national defense policies with impunity."

(The erosion of "discipline" was already making itself felt. A copy of the message to McConnell found its way into the hands of the antiwar GI organizers, who promptly printed it as a leaflet to spur participation in the march.)

Unfortunately for the Pentagon, military lawyers were unable to locate any provision in the Uniform Code of Military Justice providing for "quashing" demonstrations by GIs and their supporters who happened to disagree with the policies of the U.S. government.

Despite harassment, threats of punitive transfers, and moves to restrict GIs to their bases on the day of the march, some 500 GIs, backed up by 15,000 civilians, turned out for the march on October 12.

## Blanket surveillance

Although the military brass couldn't stop the march, they did keep its organizers under extremely tight surveillance. Activists were well aware that government agents were stationed in a building across the street from the



Militant/Barry Sheppard



N.J. Brown

Top: Fred Halstead, SWP 1968 presidential candidate talking to GIs in Saigon during his campaign tour. Bottom: Front rank of historic GI antiwar march in San Francisco, October 12, 1968. Rulers saw beginnings of antiwar activity among GIs as critical threat to war-making machine.

church, photographing everyone who entered the building.

When Halstead showed up at the church, these agents apparently thought they had something. "Perhaps they thought I had lists of GIs in my briefcase," speculates Halstead. "Actually there was nothing in there but some campaign speeches and perhaps some odds and ends of antiwar literature I had been collecting."

It is also possible that the agents had in mind some kind of Cointelpro disruption. Only weeks before, the FBI, as part of its "SWP Disruption Program," had tried to provoke violence against Halstead among GIs in Vietnam. According to Cointelpro documents released earlier to the SWP, the FBI prepared a fake news story that it tried to have placed in the military

Continued on page 30

## Stolen property

The SWP is demanding that the FBI return all of the property, including photographs of documents, taken by the FBI in its decades of illegal operations against the party.

In an April 22 letter to the government's attorneys, SWP attorney Herbert Jordan called attention to the FBI's admission of burglaries of the party's offices, and to the 1968 theft of the briefcase belonging to Fred Halstead.

Jordan demanded the return of all "items obtained by burglary, theft and/or conversion, and all copies and summaries thereof, including photographs, as these materials remain the property of our clients under elementary legal principles." ("Conversion" means wrongfully depriving someone of the use of their property, such as when the FBI kept Halstead's briefcase.)

The letter covers all physical property, as well as the photographs the FBI made of documents when they broke into the SWP offices. It demands the production of all original documents, copies, and summaries in the possession of the FBI and "of any federal agency to whom the FBI may have transmitted them."

If the FBI refuses to comply with the demands set forth in the letter, the SWP's attorneys will take legal steps to force the FBI to return the stolen property.

## Open-&-shut case

Stealing a briefcase is against the law. Even the FBI knows that. So they went to some lengths to concoct a cover story to explain how they came into possession of Fred Halstead's briefcase. According to this fairy tale, the briefcase was found by a loyal citizen and turned over to the FBI.

But even if this cover story were true, the FBI would still be in violation of the law. In California, where the briefcase was "found," the law says: "One who finds lost property under circumstances which give him knowledge of or means of inquiry as to the true owner, and who appropriates such property to his own use, or to the use of another person not entitled thereto, without

first making reasonable and just efforts to find the owner and to restore the property to him, is guilty of theft."

It's an open-and-shut case.

The FBI sent the contents of the briefcase to its New York office. Thus, New York G-men also violated a similar statute in that state when they failed to return the materials to Halstead.

Every government official involved was also guilty under a federal statute that makes it a crime for federal employees to use their "office or authority for the purpose of interfering with or affecting the nomination or election of any candidate for the office of president or vice president . . . ."

## U.S. out of Africa...

Washington is still smarting from the licking its plans took in Angola.

To help patch up some of the damage, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger set off last week for a two-week junket to several Black African states. In a "major policy speech" in Lusaka, Zambia, Kissinger assured his hosts, "We support self-determination, majority rule, equal rights and human dignity for all the peoples of southern Africa. . . ."

During his stop in Kenya, Kissinger insisted that the "United States does not plan to give military aid to nationalists" in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) or the South African colony of Namibia. But Washington's policy toward arming the South African apartheid regime has been quite different.

Between 1970 and 1973, the United States sold South Africa nearly \$176 million in aircraft, along with about \$32 million in other military supplies between 1967 and 1972. More than half of America's economic aid to sub-Saharan Africa goes to Pretoria as well.

By Washington's own admission, it poured \$31 million into Angola during its covert operations there last year. A House committee report figured that this sum "should at least be doubled." In addition, U.S. financing of mercenaries in Angola—reminiscent of its bloody role in the Congo a decade earlier—is estimated by some to be as high as \$20 million.

But antiwar sentiment—especially among this country's 25 million Blacks—tied Washington's hands in Angola.

Now Washington realizes that it must develop a new approach to keep its foothold in Africa.

Kissinger would like to see some "loosening" of the apartheid system in South Africa and the establishment of neocolonial regimes in Rhodesia and Namibia that could be kept under the thumb of U.S. interests. Short of that, he fears, the African people may take matters into their own hands, causing *real* trouble for imperialism.

"Of all the purposes we have in common," Kissinger told African leaders in Lusaka, "racial justice is one of the most basic." Those who know Washington's sorry record in enforcing desegregation in Boston—to cite just one example—must have found this statement ironic.

U.S. military might is needed in Boston to protect Black citizens, yet none has been sent. It has no business in Africa, but has been in abundant supply.

This is the true measure of Washington's commitment to "racial justice."

## ...and Panama, too!

"We bought it, we paid for it," says presidential candidate Ronald Reagan about the Panama Canal. In his appeals for right-wing votes, Reagan has accused Ford of plotting to "give away" the Panama Canal and Zone.

In answer, Ford has insisted that "the United States will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned."

Negotiations over the control of the canal have been going on since 1964, following the uproar of protest when U.S. forces fired into a crowd of Panamanian high school students who tried to raise their country's flag in the Canal Zone. But Ford is not about to "give away" anything: U.S. negotiators are insisting on a treaty that will extend Washington's rule over the canal for another fifty years.

The United States never "paid for" the canal. It stole it through treachery and threat of brute force.

Today, there are 10,000 U.S. troops in fourteen military bases in Panama. Their mission is to safeguard U.S. wealth and profits throughout Latin America. American soldiers embarked from Panama in 1954 to invade Guatemala, and in 1965 to invade the Dominican Republic.

In addition to the troops, nearly 5,000 U.S. civilians live the privileged life of colonial overlords, maintaining their own little enclave of racism under the American flag. It really looks like a piece of America, too: a few months ago a cross was burned in front of the home of a Black U.S. employee of the Panama Canal Company in reaction to a plan to desegregate company housing.

The people of Panama are justifiably indignant that the main natural resource of their impoverished country—its geographical location—has been usurped by a rich foreign power.

The American people have an elementary duty to tell Washington: The Canal Zone belongs to Panama!

U.S. Out of the Canal Zone!

### Views align with yours

I have been reading your newspaper and past issues of the magazine *International Socialist Review* and have found them to be very informing and well-written publications.

I am an instructor in the social science department here at Florida Atlantic University with leftist views that align with yours.

I am very interested in working for the Socialist Workers party and am sending a letter to your representatives in Tallahassee, Florida.

Jim Slitor

Boca Raton, Florida

### Strategy to fight racism

Just a word to state that on the whole your paper is informative and a pleasure to read.

However, I would like to take exception to your criticism of the Committee Against Racism (CAR) on two separate occasions.

You berated CAR for marching into South Boston last year, and decried CAR's actions against arch-racist William Shockley when he debated a professor at the University of California in Los Angeles late last year.

Allowing Shockley to propagate his filth is tantamount to letting Adolph Hitler run loose. CAR's action was quite correct. One would not let a mad dog run loose in society—nor can one let Shockley move from place to place spreading racial hatred in the name of "democratic rights."

CAR's foray into South Boston was important in that it served to let the inhabitants there know that there are some white people who are concerned with the issues enough to go into that no-man's land by themselves.

In addition, the Black community now realizes that there are some allies willing to put it on the line despite all of the racists that are all over the place.

Jim Grant

The Charlotte Three

Albemarle, North Carolina

### Miners buy 'Militant'

Timely reports like the one the mine tragedy (*Militant*, March 26) are very effective for sales. In St. Louis we sold thirteen copies of this issue at the River Kings Mines and plan to return there.

Also, front-page articles on Black politics are obviously good sellers—especially in St. Louis where we sell more than 75 percent of our *Militants* to Blacks.

Allan Grady

St. Louis, Missouri

### Harris—antiwar supporter?

I was reading Ed Heisler's exposé of Fred Harris (*Militant*, April 2), and I noticed that Harris claims to have opposed the war in Vietnam. I would like to bring to light an encounter I had with him that shows where he really stood even when it was "respectable" to endorse the antiwar movement.

In the fall of 1971 I went to the statewide delegate conference of the Colorado Labor Council with two other trade unionists from the Colorado Peace Action Coalition. We put a resolution to this conference to support the November 6 actions against the war in Vietnam called by the National Peace Action Coalition.

We were asking support for a specific demonstration and support for the

position of "out now." After our presentation, seven or eight delegates took the floor and the CLC president, Herrick Roth, also spoke. Every one of them supported the motion and pledged to personally march in Denver that day. The resolution carried without any opposition.

Fred Harris was at that conference. He heard the delegates speak out against the war—and many of them were doing so for the first time—and he saw the vote. After the session was over we went to get individual endorsements.

We also asked Fred Harris (who was at the convention to get votes for the 1972 presidential race) for his endorsement. He flatly refused.

Heisler implied Harris finally supported the antiwar movement—when it was big enough. I encourage trade unionists to check out Harris's other claims—I bet they fall before the facts too.

Skip Ball

Notting Hill, England

### Gay liberation coverage

I would like to see the *Militant* give more attention to the gay liberation movement. The political awareness of most gays is very low—with most having illusions about making gains through the Democratic party.

Also, exploitation runs very high in the gay subculture—through gay bars, gay baths, movie houses, etc. Gays may be the largest minority in the United States. Please don't ignore us.

Dale Rusnacko

Minneapolis, Minnesota

### 'Daily World' distortions

Erik Bert, a regular columnist for the American Communist party's *Daily World*, has once again displayed his most singular talent: twisting and distorting the views of those who speak out against the suppression of political liberty in the Soviet Union.

This time—in the April 16 *Daily World*—Bert's target is exiled Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch. Plyushch was held for two-and-one-half years in a "psychiatric hospital" after his conviction on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." A worldwide outcry forced his release last January.

Bert takes Plyushch to task for remarks he made at a New York meeting where Sen. Henry Jackson, a notorious anticommunist, also spoke. The meeting was reported in the April 16 *Militant*.

According to Bert's version, Plyushch "associated himself with the murder of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg" and "is on the side of [their] executioners." What did Plyushch actually say?

Addressing himself to Jackson's speech earlier in the meeting, Plyushch began: "It is immoral to speak out against violations of human rights in the Soviet Union and not in Chile—and vice versa. That is cannibal morality—it is all right if I eat the enemy but bad if the enemy eats me."

He also called on Jackson to demand the release of a member of the Uruguayan Communist party who has undergone severe torture at the hands of the rightist regime there. Turning to the Rosenberg case, Plyushch said:

"I do not know if the Rosenbergs were Soviet spies or not, but I do not understand why their children cannot be permitted to have the material in this case." He compared the case to the efforts by Bukharin's widow in the

Continued on page 23



# international socialist review



John Gray

## Chicano Nationalism and Socialism

By Miguel Pendás

In April 1975, a delegation of Raza Unida party activists from throughout the country made a visit to Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban government. The head of the delegation, José Angel Gutiérrez, held a news conference upon their return.

The report on the news conference in the May 9-23, 1975, *Chicano Times* summarized Gutiérrez's description of Cuba as "a place where there is no hunger or poverty, a place where unemployment does not exist, a place where all the people get whatever medical attention that they need, a place where every family has a home and all the residents receive as much education that they want as long as they have a desire to learn."

Gutiérrez declared that the problems of poverty and racism suffered by Chicanos in Texas were

*Miguel Pendás is a writer for the Militant's Southwest Bureau. He has been part of the Militant's reporting team on the Chicano struggle since 1972, and is perhaps best known for his column, 'La Raza en Acción!'*

similar to those that the Cuban people have begun to overcome by taking socialist measures. One of the reporters then said to Gutiérrez, "You are going to be asked sometime that if you like socialism so much why don't you and all the other Mexicans go to Cuba."

Gutiérrez replied, "Because we are going to make a Cuba over here."

The response of the Raza Unida delegation to what they saw in Cuba is only one reflection of the growing interest among Chicanos in the revolutionary struggles of oppressed peoples in other parts of the world, as well as in the prospects for revolutionary change in this country.

Chicanos have not fared very well—to put it mildly—under the existing system of capitalism. Unemployment is estimated at up to 45 percent in barrios such as East Los Angeles. Prices continue to climb. The government is now trying to scrap many of the gains that Chicanos have made in the past few years. Affirmative-action plans, bilingual and bicultural education programs, and Chicano studies are all either not being implemented or are being cut back to the point where their existence is in jeopardy.

In addition, the war in Vietnam, the Pentagon papers, and the Watergate and CIA and FBI revelations have opened the eyes of millions of people, including Chicanos, to some of the truth about the real methods of capitalist rule. John F. Kennedy, whom many Chicanos thought to be an honest politician, is shown to be like all the rest. Kennedy—like Johnson and Nixon—plotted mass extermination programs in Vietnam, spying and disruption against the Black civil rights movement, and the assassinations of African and Latin American leaders who did not fit in with Washington's plans.

### Is Socialism Relevant to Chicanos?

Most Chicano activists do not begin as socialists. They begin by working to eliminate some of the particular injustices of this system rather than to replace it with a new system. But in the process of trying to do this, people come to realize that the injustices are a vital part of the system.

Many are led to the correct conclusion that there is something wrong with capitalism itself. Growing numbers are asking themselves whether socialism could work and, most of all, "Is it relevant to me as a Chicano?"

*Continued on page ISR/3*

## Also in this issue:

- Tim Wohlforth, Nancy Fields Reexamine the SWP
- George Novack's 'Pragmatism vs. Marxism'

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## New Palestinian Revolt

Over the past month, world attention was focused on two oppressed communities: the embattled Black community of Boston, and the Palestinian Arabs living under Israeli rule.

The Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories have risen up in the biggest wave of protests since the formation of Israel.

Demonstrations began on the Israeli-occupied West Bank in late January, sparked by the debate in the United Nations Security Council on the Middle East conflict. Mass student protests and strikes continued through February and March in the face of vicious Israeli repression.

Television beamed pictures around the world showing Israeli soldiers shooting into crowds of unarmed demonstrators, including children, and beating and dragging protesters by the hair. The Zionist government finally barred Israeli television crews from covering the Arab protests. Three Palestinians lay dead in the wake of this rampage by Israeli occupation forces.

On March 30, the upsurge spilled over into Israel itself. Tens of thousands of Palestinians joined in a general strike to protest Israeli government take-over of Arab land and to show solidarity with their brothers and sisters in the occupied West Bank.

The power of this action in the face of severe repression stunned the Zionist regime. The protest involved at least a fifth of the 500,000 Arabs living in pre-1967 Israel, by the Rabin government's own admission, and it took place in the heart of the occupying country itself.

The response of the Israeli regime was to unleash its police forces and give the green light to a pogrom against the Palestinians. In one day six Arabs were slain, dozens wounded, and 300 arrested.

The Israeli Arabs responded to the Zionist offensive with a mobilization of 10,000 on March 31 in honor of three of the victims of the pogrom. Contingents came from thirty-six towns and villages.

The depth of the Palestinian upsurge was indicated by the results of the April 12 elections in the occupied West Bank. Conservative leaders were swept aside and radical nationalists and Communist party members won control of the municipal councils in many of the most important towns.

On April 18, some 30,000 Zionists marched through West Bank villages brandishing submachine guns, rifles, and other weapons. The aim was to intimidate the Palestinians from continuing their struggle.

Still, the Palestinian community did not retreat. Demonstrations took place daily on the West Bank in protest against the Zionist show of force. In Jerusalem, schoolgirls built

barricades and marched carrying wreaths saying, "Condolences to the occupation."

There are several important things to note about this Palestinian upsurge. First, it has been led by youth, especially student youth. Going back to 1974 and the West Bank demonstrations in solidarity with Yasir Arafat's appearance at the United Nations, students have been in the forefront of the resistance to Israeli occupation, inspiring and showing the way for broader layers of the Palestinian population.

Second is the growing role of women in the struggle. Despite the extremely oppressive traditions imposed on Arab women, they have increasingly come forward, led by young women students, to join in this political struggle, unafraid of defying the Zionist repressive forces. This participation of women testifies to the fact that the struggle against Zionist rule has the support of the most downtrodden sections of the Palestinian people.

Thirdly, the recent wave of protests has clearly shown the power of independent mass action. It is the strikes and persistent street demonstrations that are exposing the racist character of Zionist Israel for all to see. Despite its military might, the Zionist regime has been put on the defensive by students, workers, and peasants who are armed only with their numbers and with slogans based on justice and the truth.

The brutality of the Zionists' response reveals the true face of Israeli democracy, not only to people throughout the world, but also to the people of Israel itself. By tenaciously demanding their rights, the Palestinians are helping to educate their potential allies among the Jewish working class to see that the Zionist regime rests on the denial of democratic rights to an entire people. The brute repression that is today directed against the Palestinian Arabs can tomorrow be aimed against the Jewish workers of Israel.

## Racist Siege in Boston

On April 6 people throughout the country and around the world saw in their newspapers the shocking photographs of a Black man in Boston being beaten, kicked, and speared with the steel tip of an American flag.

The image of this beating by racist thugs in the courtyard of Boston City Hall captured in one fleeting moment an incident symbolic of the months of racist terror against the Boston Black community.

In the schools in racist strongholds, Black students have faced a steady campaign of taunts, insults, beatings, and armed attacks by whites. Black men, women, and children have been jumped and beaten throughout the city. Black families living in predominantly white areas have been the victims of vandalism and rifle fire. Racists in Charlestown and South Boston have formed paramilitary squads with the avowed purpose of making white neighborhoods off limits to Blacks.

Groups that have tried to organize against the racist violence have faced violence and intimidation as well. The headquarters of the NAACP was bombed last December. Organizers of the antiracist demonstration that had

been planned for April 24 received phone and mail death threats.

This terror campaign has been carried out under the noses of the city government and police forces. No serious effort has been made to bring the racist hoodlums to justice. To the contrary, aid and comfort is given to the racist antibusing groups by the cops and by city and national politicians, from President Ford to most of the Democratic presidential contenders.

The city government and powers that be were able to move very quickly, on the other hand, when angry Blacks began to blindly retaliate against some whites. The government took advantage of the beatings of several whites to launch an orchestrated campaign to condemn "all violence." The mass media played up the scattered retaliatory Black violence as if it were the same thing as the sustained, organized siege of the Boston Black community by the racist whites. The blanket condemnation of "all violence" was designed to wipe out the distinction between aggressor and victim. It was also aimed at removing all responsibility for the racist violence from the shoulders of the city, state, and federal governments.

The government and mass media also took advantage of the spontaneous retaliation by Blacks to sabotage the holding of the one and only protest action against the racist violence, which was scheduled for April 24. Pressure came down on Black leaders to withdraw support for the action. It became clear that the march could not be defended, given the inaction of police in regard to the racists. FBI and police agents and provocateurs no doubt were present in meetings in the Black community (such as the Black "security force" meeting described in the article by Malik Miah elsewhere in this issue of the *Militant*), promoting red-baiting of the April 24 action and yelling the loudest for more blind violence against whites rather than a powerful, organized, political answer to the racists and their government backers.

The April 24 demonstration had to be postponed. But a massive show of support for the Boston Black community is more necessary than ever. Just as with the struggle of the Palestinians, it is only the independent action by the masses of oppressed people and their allies that can begin to turn around the relationship of forces and make possible the protection of the Black community and the protection of Black students and their right to go to any school.

As in the case of the Palestinian struggle, it is young people who are in the forefront of the antiracist resistance in Boston—the young Black students who are braving racist assaults every day, and the activists of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, who are spearheading the organizing effort for a mass demonstration, against tremendous odds.

It is these young fighters who are pointing the way for a renewed struggle. A political offensive by the antiracist forces, drawing on support from throughout the country, can point the finger of blame at the ultimate source of racist violence and protection of the racist mobs: the American capitalist government.

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## ...Chicano Struggle and Socialism

Continued from page ISR/1

One question that is raised is, "Won't racism exist in any kind of society, capitalist or socialist?" This question arises because racism is so pervasive in this country that it is hard to envision a nonracist America.

Marxists think racism can be eliminated because its roots are not in "human nature" but in a particular social system: capitalism. History and anthropology show that racism did not exist before capitalism. Slavery, conquest, and oppression of one people by another existed, but not on the basis of race.

Racism originated with the African slave trade that developed in the early stages of capitalism. The theories of inferiority of Black and Brown peoples were developed and promoted to justify this enslavement of Africans and later the imperialist conquest of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

While slavery was abolished in 1863, the capitalist rulers continued to foster racism. They were not about to give up a tool that could be used to divide and disorient all the exploited and oppressed.

After 200 years, it is clearer than ever that American capitalism is totally dependent on the superexploitation of racial minorities. The average Chicano family earns only about 70 percent of what the average Anglo family earns. The same is true for Blacks. Where does the remaining 30 percent go? The capitalists pocket this money that they don't have to pay out in wages because of racism. Furthermore, the capitalists' overall economic and political power is strengthened indirectly by the divisive role of racism among the class of working people.

The capitalist system is hooked on racism. It will never give up its fix—the superprofits that come from being able to condemn Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed minorities to the worst jobs, the worst schools, and the worst housing.

A society that abolishes exploitation for private profit, on the other hand, would have no such inherent drive to foster racism. To the contrary, the abolition of capitalism can only come about through a mass mobilization of all working people that must encompass a forthright struggle against racism.

### Are Nationalism and Socialism Contradictory?

One of the difficulties Chicanos encounter when assessing socialism is that some people who claim to be Marxists have declared their hostility to Chicano nationalism, the concept of Chicano pride and unity that has infused the development of the Chicano movement of today. They say there is a contradiction between Chicano nationalism and the socialist concepts of class struggle and internationalism.

The most vocal exponents of antinationalism today are the Maoist groups. These include the October League, the Revolutionary Communist party (formerly Revolutionary Union), and the supporters of the *Guardian* newspaper. There are other smaller, local Maoist groupings, including some Chicano Maoist groups.

While there are shades of difference in their views, basically they share the position that struggles of Chicanos as a people are a diversion or, at best, a secondary aspect of "the class struggle," by which they mean struggles between workers and capitalists.

The Communist party has also declared its hostility to Chicano nationalism, calling it racism in reverse. In August 1975, for example, the CP had a meeting to honor the head of their Chicano Liberation Commission, Lorenzo Torres. The highest praise the CP tops had for him was, "At a time when nationalism and the call for nationhood was high, Lorenzo fought for a working-class approach"—as if the two were contradictory.

Upon hearing statements like these in the name of Marxism and socialism, it is not surprising that some Chicano militants give up on the whole idea of socialism.

At the same time, there are some Chicano activists attracted to the idea of socialism who become confused in another way. Even though they themselves have been radicalized and have come to grasp the need for socialism through their experience in the nationalist Chicano movement, they think they must reject nationalism in order to embrace socialism.

Both are making a mistake.

Marxism begins from the premise that human history is basically the history of struggle between classes. But this general truth does not at all imply that nationalist struggles of oppressed peoples are a diversion from the class struggle. In fact, such national liberation struggles are a powerful component of the class struggle and are complementary to the development of revolutionary internationalism.

Related to the notion that "class struggle" in the abstract is more revolutionary than struggle by an oppressed people is the equally erroneous concept that "workers' issues" are revolutionary while Chicano issues are low level or irrelevant.

Sometimes you will see antinationalists at a Chicano demonstration trying to "educate" the participants on this question. While slogans such as "Viva la raza," "Chicano—Power," or "La raza unida jamás será vencida" (Chicanos united will never be defeated) are being chanted, they remain silent. Then, when there is a pause, they start up with what they consider more "revolutionary" slogans, such as "Obreros unidos jamás serán vencidos" (Workers united will never be defeated).

Another example occurred at a 1974 demonstration in Los Angeles protesting the colonial status of Puerto Rico. The main slogan was "Independence for Puerto Rico," a nationalist demand that Marxists fully support. However, the Maoists of the Revolutionary Union (now Revolutionary Communist party) did not like this demand. They organized their followers into a contingent and sang the "International." Needless to say, very few people outside their circle knew what they were singing or why.

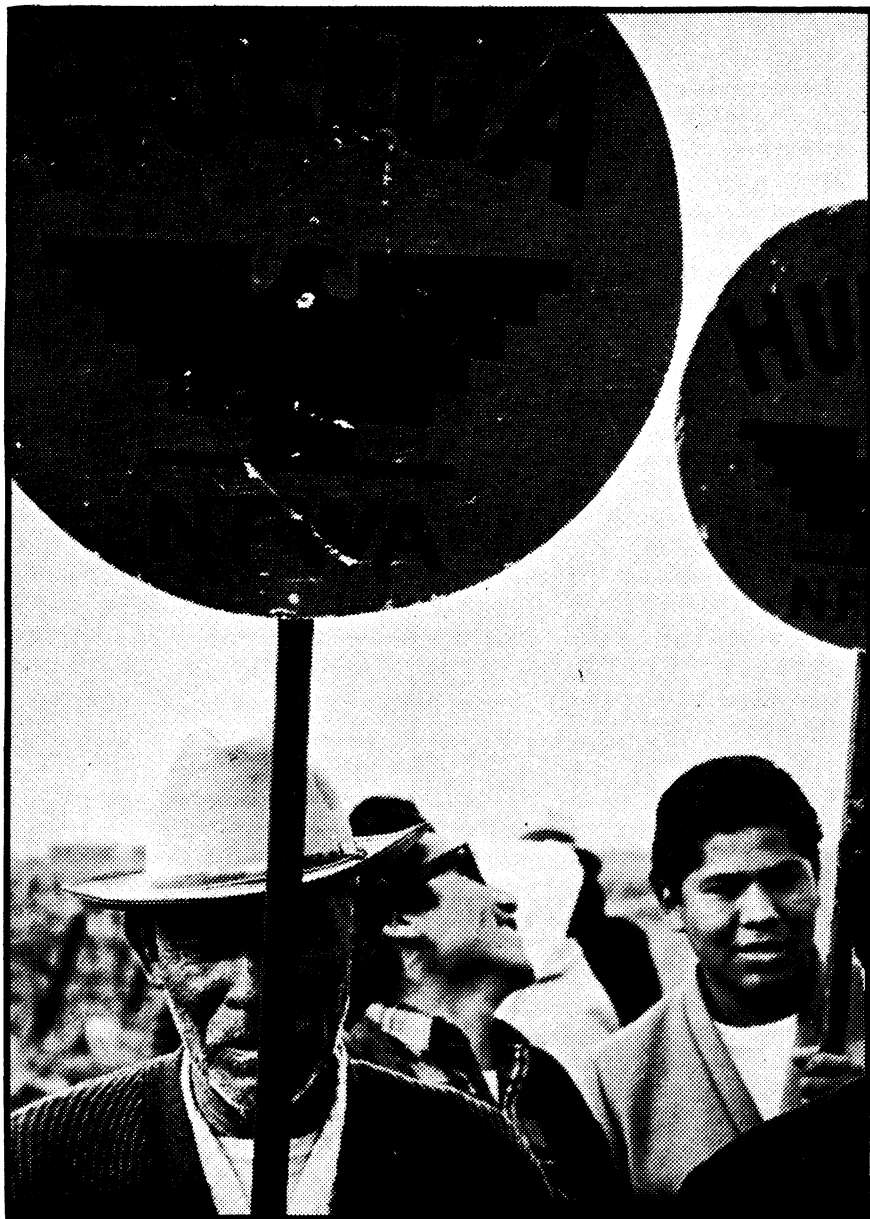
### What is the Class Struggle?

This is not a Marxist approach. So-called workers' issues—such as demands for higher wages and better conditions on the job—are an important part of the class struggle. But wage exploitation is not the only kind of oppression that exists under capitalism. There is also national oppression and the oppression of women, as well as special forms of oppression against youth, old people, gay people, and others. These are all forms of capitalist oppression, and most of their weight falls on the working class.

The Marxist concept of the class struggle is not simply, or most fundamentally, the struggle by workers for higher wages or other trade-union demands. It is the struggle of the working class and its allies on all fronts, including on social and political issues, against the capitalist rulers.

In the case of the Chicano people, the interconnection of class and national oppression is very clear. The forms of oppression suffered by Chicanos as workers and as Chicanos are inseparable. Therefore, a socialist program must address itself to both.

In looking back over the experiences of the Chicano people in the past decade, we see that struggles directed to the needs of Chicanos as a people, far from retarding the class struggle or



'In the case of the Chicano people, the interconnection of class and national oppression is very clear. One of the best examples of this is the United Farm Workers union, which arose as an expression of the Chicano movement.'



Ron Payne

'In 1970, 30,000 Chicanos protested the Vietnam War in the National Chicano Moratorium held in East Los Angeles. This internationalist action in solidarity with the people of Vietnam was a product of Chicano nationalism. Chicanos were saying: We refuse to die in a war of our oppressors!'

being irrelevant to it, have deepened and advanced it.

### La Causa

One of the best examples of this is the United Farm Workers movement. One reason that the UFW has been more successful than any other agricultural union is that it arose as an expression of the Chicano movement. There was no labor upsurge when the UFW began organizing. In fact, the trade-union movement was fairly quiet. It was Chicanos who were on the move, fighting against racist discrimination. And it was the Chicano community that saw the struggle of the farm workers as its own struggle and formed the backbone of the movement.

Chicano farm workers were attracted to this movement—*la causa*—because it spoke to their needs. It offered a means to combat their oppression both as workers and as Chicanos.

At the same time, the United Farm Workers have probably done more than any other union to revive the traditions of militant unionism in this country. After winning support in the barrios, the UFW boycott won support among both Blacks and Anglos in the cities.

The farm workers support movement grew strong enough to force even the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to give it token support. The struggle has become so well known that support for the UFW is an important issue in many unions, including those located in the big cities of the North and East. It was also a key issue at the 1974 founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

When the Teamsters union bureaucracy launched its latest series of raids on the UFW, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy felt compelled to back up the *campesinos* with more than a million dollars (something it should have done long ago). Rarely have the Teamster bureaucrats—for whom sweetheart deals and union raiding are a way of life—encountered such opposition. Chicanos are leading a struggle of workers for militant and democratic unionism against an entrenched bureaucracy that controls the biggest union in the country.

But this is not the only struggle of Chicanos as a people that has had an impact. In Los Angeles, Chicanos were in the forefront of the movement to get the United States out of Vietnam. In 1970, 30,000 Chicanos protested the war in the National Chicano Moratorium, held in East Los Angeles. This was the biggest antiwar demonstration ever held in that city up to that time. This internationalist action in solidarity with the people of Vietnam was a product of Chicano nationalism. Chicanos were saying: We refuse to die in a war of our oppressors!

The struggles against racism in the schools, for bilingual and bicultural education, for more

Chicano teachers, for better jobs and higher wages for Chicanos, for job training, for more college admissions, for better housing, for Chicano studies—all of these struggles are part of the class struggle of the exploited against the exploiters. They are directed against the racist injustices that are part of the political, economic, and social fabric of capitalist society and that function to bolster the power and wealth of the ruling rich.

### How to Achieve Unity

The Maoists and other sectarians claim that Chicano nationalist demands divide the working class and stand in the way of unity between Chicano and Anglo workers in struggle against their common oppressor. What they are really saying is that Chicanos should lay aside their legitimate grievances in order not to offend racist white workers. But this is hardly a way to achieve unity.

It is not the aspirations and struggles of Chicanos as a people that divide the working class; working people are divided by racist discrimination. The capitalist rulers foster and maintain racism by granting privileges to whites at the expense of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other oppressed minorities. As long as whites accept this situation, the basis for unity will be narrow indeed.

By fighting against racism and for equality, Chicanos and other oppressed peoples are pointing the way to the basis for real unity.

It is possible to win white working people to support the demands of the oppressed minorities. It will happen in two ways. First, it will happen as whites see that Chicanos and others will no longer tolerate racism and prejudice. For example, the Black civil rights struggles and ghetto rebellions of the 1960s had a major impact in increasing sensitivity and opposition to racism among whites.

White working people can also overcome their racist attitudes in action when they see in the course of their own struggles that in order to defeat the common enemy—the capitalist class—a common struggle is necessary. This is illustrated in the support that the UFW has received from unions that are not primarily Chicano. Non-Chicano workers are able to see that the attack on the farm workers is an attack on the right of all workers to form unions.

### Is Chicano Nationalism 'Bourgeois'?

One of the contentions of those who oppose Chicano nationalism in the name of Marxism is that nationalism is a bourgeois ideology and leads to class collaboration. Nationalist movements, they claim, are led by bourgeois or petty-bourgeois (that is, capitalist or middle-class) forces, rather than by the working people of the oppressed nationalities.

Some Maoists think they have found a middle ground between nationalist struggle and the class struggle, which they see as contradictory. They say they support only *some* struggles against national oppression—those waged by Chicano workers!

The main task of socialists, they argue, is to draw the class line between the Chicano workers and allegedly bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Chicanos. So, for example, they might support a strike by Chicano unionists, but not a struggle for more Chicanos on campus. If more Chicanos are able to go to college, you see, they'll just become "bourgeois."

By creating a phantom Chicano capitalist class, these Maoists relieve themselves of the duty to struggle against the real capitalist class and its ideology, which holds that the universities and the professions are for whites only.

Hypocritically, the Communist party also slanders the Chicano nationalist movement by saying that it leads to a multiclass alliance. However, while opposing the nationalist movement as divisive, bourgeois, and even reactionary, the CP urges Chicanos to support "progressive" capitalist politicians of the Democratic party as a way to gain their liberation.

The Democrats are running more Chicanos for office now, but the number is still so small that it barely approaches tokenism. But is pushing for more Chicano Democrats in office going to help the mass of Chicanos? Chicanos can learn from the experience of the Black community in this regard.

Ten years ago there were hardly any Black elected officials. But under pressure of the Black struggle, the Democratic party began to run more and more Blacks for office. Black elected officials now number 3,500. Some hold high state and national office. Others are mayors of major cities, including Los Angeles, Newark, Atlanta, Cleveland, and Detroit. There are Black members of Congress. But despite all this the oppression and exploitation of Blacks is unchanged.

There is no reason to think it will be different for Chicanos.

It wasn't long after taking office in 1974 that Gov. Raul Castro of Arizona sent state troopers to attack a lemon-pickers' strike led by the United Farm Workers in Yuma. Castro said this was the kind of thing you had to do to be a Chicano governor in "Goldwater country."

And Gov. Jerry Apodaca of New Mexico said even before he took office that he was not going to shake things up by appointing and hiring more Chicanos. In fact, he said he would be careful to avoid this.

These politicians, and any so-called communists who front for them, are not helping to fight the oppression of Chicanos. They are helping to maintain it by preaching faith in the political parties and the system responsible for that oppression.

Contrary to the CP's slanders, it is the serious Chicano nationalists who have been in the forefront of the struggle against bourgeois ideology in this country, through the formation of the Raza Unida parties independent of the capitalist-controlled Democratic and Republican parties. These parties point the way forward for the Chicano masses, who need to break from the capitalist parties and construct a mass party that would fight for the interests of Chicanos not only in the electoral arena, but in daily struggles as well.

The Raza Unida parties have also set an example for Blacks and for the labor movement as a whole, who would also benefit from forming a party of their own to fight the bosses' parties.

Far from being a middle-class ideology, Chicano nationalism has been the ideology of the most militant fighters against the capitalist class. It is to be found in the most oppressed layers of the Chicano community.

Contrary to the theories of the Communist party and the Maoist groups, the Chicano people are overwhelmingly working class in composition. There exists no Chicano capitalist class. The oppression of Chicanos as a people is based on the superexploitation of Chicanos as a discriminated-against section of the working class. Therefore, the aspiration of Chicanos for liberation as a people is a form of class consciousness. It is a limited form, just as trade-union consciousness is a limited form of class consciousness. But the role of socialists is not to condemn it, but to be in the forefront of all



struggles for the rights of the Chicano people, while pointing to the connection of these struggles with the struggle of the working class as a whole.

From different angles, both the Communist party and the Maoists use Marxist-sounding rhetoric to oppose the independent class thrust of the Chicano nationalist movement.

### Chicano Culture

Those who claim to be socialists but oppose Chicano nationalism fail to see many issues that are of great importance to Chicanos. It is as if they had blinders on, and can see only the narrowest results of the oppression of Chicanos as wage earners.

They fail, for instance, to see the importance of demands for Chicano studies and the right to develop Chicano culture. These questions are especially important to an oppressed people. An integral part of the oppression of Chicanos is the destruction and suppression of the culture and true history of Chicanos. The capitalist rulers benefit from obliterating Chicano history because this keeps Chicanos from understanding how they came to be an oppressed people.

Those who think Chicano liberation can be achieved *simply* by adopting a culture different from that of Anglo society, apart from a political struggle, are obviously in a blind alley. But the struggle for the right to reclaim Chicano history, language, and culture is an important part of the effort of *la raza* to ascertain its true identity as an oppressed people. It can be a real factor in the struggle for national liberation. Therefore, Marxists look positively upon the development of Chicano arts, Chicano schools, and Chicano studies.

### Leninism and Stalinism

The notion that nationalism of oppressed peoples is contradictory to the class struggle originates with the Stalinists—that is, with the followers of the Communist parties of Moscow and Peking, the heirs of Joseph Stalin. Their treacherous refusal to support national liberation struggles has nothing in common with the Marxist tradition, the tradition of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Russian Bolshevik party. Yet because the Stalinists claim to be Marxists and Leninists, they have succeeded in confusing millions of oppressed people throughout the world as to the true stand of Marxism in regard to national liberation.

The Stalinist bureaucracy that gained control in the Soviet Union made a mockery of the great ideals the Russian revolution stood for, not only in regard to the rights of oppressed nationalities, but in all areas of life. Workers democracy, a cherished principle of the original revolutionary regime, was extinguished. Today there is no democracy in the Soviet Union. Anyone who voices disagreement with official policy is declared either counterrevolutionary or insane, and locked up. This has probably done more than anything else to discredit socialism in the eyes of workers throughout the world.

The Marxist position on national struggles of oppressed peoples was developed chiefly by Lenin, in the course of his experiences in the Russian revolution and in the leadership of the Communist International. His position was that revolutionary socialists must give full support to all oppressed peoples in the struggle against their oppressors. This includes the right to self-determination, even to the point of separation in their own state if that is what the oppressed people feel is necessary to assure their liberation.

The Bolshevik party was forced to deal with this question because it was a key aspect of the Russian revolution. Tsarist Russia was known as the "jailhouse of nations" because of the great number of oppressed nationalities forcibly retained within its borders. Only 43 percent of the population belonged to the dominant nationality, the Great Russians. The rest of the population—80 million people—was made up of oppressed peoples, including Ukrainians, Poles, Latvians, Estonians, and many others. Under the tsar, more than 650 laws existed that abridged the rights of Jews. Some peoples had formal equality under the law but were oppressed through enforced economic underdevelopment.

Clearly, in order to make a revolution it was necessary for revolutionists to address themselves to this oppression. It was necessary to win the confidence and support of the oppressed,

most of whom in this case were not workers but peasants.

The reformist parties of Russia failed to champion the rights of the oppressed nationalities, often cloaking their indifference in rhetoric about internationalism. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, on the other hand, fought uncompromisingly for the right of these nations to secede from Russia if they so desired. For this, the reformists accused the Bolsheviks of wanting to "dismember" Russia.

But Lenin knew that a revolution could only succeed if the working class—which was made up largely of Great Russians—was able to win the support or at least acquiescence of the oppressed peoples. Separately, neither could win liberation. And, indeed, the oppressed peoples of Russia found that they had to turn to the working class and the fight for socialism—not the capitalist leaders—in order to win their national liberation.

### Gravediggers With Steam Shovels

Despite many differences in the situations, the lessons of the Russian revolution on the national question are very pertinent to the United States today. Here, also, the development of capitalism has created oppressed nations within a nation, particularly in the case of Black people and Chicanos.

The triumph of capitalism in the United States was completed when the slaves were freed in 1863. The capitalist class did this to suit its own needs. The system of wage labor had to be extended nationwide for the most efficient development of capitalist industry. The freed slaves at first became landless sharecroppers, but over the years Black people have become overwhelmingly urban wage workers.

A similar process took place with Chicanos. At the time of the Anglo conquest of the Southwest (or Northwest, depending on your point of view), a considerable number of the inhabitants of the northern part of Mexico were either small farmers or were living in semifeudal conditions. In Southern California the *padres* (priests) established the hacienda-mission-presidio system and forced the Indians to work for them for no wages. The *indios* created through their labor a wealthy society with enormous herds of cattle and horses, and thriving agriculture. A racial caste system prevailed.

The capitalist invasion destroyed all this. Over the years, even as millions of Chicanos continued coming across the border, Chicanos, too, became proletarianized and urbanized.

But at the same time that capitalism was drawing Blacks and Chicanos into the working class, the ruling class maintained and deepened racist discrimination. That is, Blacks and Chicanos were not absorbed into the working class on an equal basis with Anglos. They were segregated and set apart in all areas of life as a sector of second-class citizens. They were forged into nations within a nation—that is, distinct peoples with a common history of oppression, common cultural heritage, common problems. In doing this, the capitalists have planted seeds of their own destruction.

As Marx taught, the dominant class under each form of class society gives rise to its own gravedigger—the oppressed classes. Feudalism gave rise to the bourgeoisie, which overturned the nobility and abolished serfdom and slavery. Capitalist society created the working class. In creating the oppressed nationalities (superexploited sections of the working class), you might say that U.S. capitalism has created a gravedigger with a steam shovel.

Blacks and Chicanos are not just the most oppressed sectors of the working class, they are also among the most powerful sectors. The Black population is approaching 25 million. The combined Chicano and Puerto Rican population is approaching 15 million. The total is nearly 40 million.

Moreover, Black and Chicano workers are concentrated in the key sectors of the service and heavy industries. There are auto plants in Detroit and steel plants in Illinois and Indiana where Blacks are a majority of the work force. In Southern California Chicanos are a large percentage of the steelworkers. Growing numbers of Blacks and Chicanos are in key government and related jobs, such as in the postal system and public transportation. Among workers in these key services, the influence of the Chicano

movement and the Black movement will be great.

As the most oppressed sector of the labor movement, Chicanos and Blacks will be the most militant fighters against the bosses and their government. They have the most to gain and nothing to lose.

The fact that they are the most militant fighters, together with their strategic position in the economy, indicate that Chicanos and Blacks are destined to be the vanguard of the American working class. They will be in the leadership of the American socialist revolution.

### Combined Revolution

Thus the coming American revolution will have to be a combined one, like the Russian revolution of 1917. It will be a combined process of winning equality and liberation for the oppressed nationalities, and a workers revolution to do away with capitalist wage exploitation once and for all.

A revolutionary socialist program must address itself to this reality. It must combine demands and solutions that fight class as well as national oppression.

Those who want to separate out "workers' demands" from the social and political demands of the Chicano community can only begin from the unspoken assumption that the *real* working class is the Anglos. The Chicano worker is not only interested in wages, but also in the right of his or her children to bilingual-bicultural education, the right to equality in jobs and housing, the right not to be deported.

Moreover, the most crucial issues before the labor movement today are *not* simply wage demands, but questions such as the need to eliminate the war budget, defense of affirmative-action plans, the fight for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, the struggle over busing for desegregation, the need to forge unity between oppressed minorities and teachers and other government workers who are under attack, and independent political action by the entire labor movement.

### Multinational Revolutionary Party

The combined character of the struggle for socialism in this country also has implications for the kind of organization necessary to lead this struggle.

Some Chicanos who want to fight for Chicano liberation and socialism have formed Chicano socialist groups, collectives, or study circles. Some of these groups reject working together with other Chicanos who are not yet socialists in nationalist formations such as La Raza Unida party.

The spread of socialist ideas among Chicanos, as reflected in the rise of such groups, is very positive. But Chicano socialist groups are not sufficient to meet the needs of the struggle for Chicano liberation and socialism.

On the one hand, there is a need for an independent Chicano party that can involve all Chicanos who are ready to fight the racist policies of the Democrats and Republicans. Such a party can appeal to the masses of Chicanos at their present level of consciousness. At the same time it points in the direction of a class break from the two capitalist parties, a step that the working class as a whole must take if it is to challenge capitalist rule.

On the other hand, there is a need for a multinational revolutionary party, a party that brings together Anglo, Chicano, Black, and Puerto Rican revolutionists around a common program.

As was cited earlier, the Leninist policy on the struggle for national liberation was crucial to the success of the Russian revolution. There was another side to the great contribution Lenin made on this subject, and that was on the need for a centralized revolutionary party uniting revolutionists of all nationalities within a country.

A party of the type Lenin developed is essential because of the centralized, ruthless character of our enemy, the capitalist class. In the face of this centralized opponent—with its police, FBI, courts, and other institutions for propaganda and repression—it is not sufficient to envision some kind of federation between Chicano socialists, Black socialists, and Anglo socialists.

A revolutionary party that hopes to take on the capitalists and win must be a totally different kind of organization. It must join revolutionists

from both oppressor and oppressed nationalities on the basis of one revolutionary program. Through common experiences in the class struggle, revolutionists of all nationalities can forge an organization that can act as one. Only such an organization will be capable of leading the process of achieving unity in action by the entire working class to take the power and wealth out of the hands of the rich.

The Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance are building the nucleus of such a mass revolutionary party to lead the

American socialist revolution.

In the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky, we are helping to build such a party on a world scale. After the Bolshevik party of Lenin had hopelessly degenerated under Stalin, Trotsky carried on the Leninist tradition by founding a new international, the Fourth International. While the SWP and YSA cannot affiliate to the Fourth International because of reactionary legislation in this country, we are nonetheless in fraternal solidarity with revolutionary socialists in Mexico, Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia,

and the Middle East who are fighting for the same revolutionary program. Our program unites us with them, just as it unites revolutionists within the United States.

By joining in the struggle for socialism, Chicanos will not only be better able to further the liberation of their people; they will be making the greatest contribution possible to the liberation of all the oppressed peoples of the world from racism, capitalism, and imperialism.

# A New Look at the Socialist Workers Party

How did two of the SWP's sharpest critics change their minds and eventually join the party? Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields discuss their political evolution.

By Nelson Blackstock

For ten years Tim Wohlforth was national secretary of the Workers League. Nancy Fields was a member of the organization's top leadership body, its political committee.

The Workers League is the American version of a political current led by Gerry Healy, who heads an organization called the Workers Revolutionary party in Great Britain. Healy's brand of politics is marked by its extreme sectarianism.

In this country the Workers League is not as well known as Healy's group in Britain, where it is one of the largest of several organizations claiming the label of Trotskyist.

However, someone who has been around the radical movement in the United States for a while has probably at least heard of the Workers League. There's a good chance, too, that they might have heard of Tim Wohlforth.

If they can tell you anything at all about the Workers League it will most likely be that this group seems to spend a lot of time attacking the Socialist Workers party.

Therefore, some people will probably be surprised to hear that Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields are now members of the SWP.

The *International Socialist Review* thought its readers would be interested to learn what led the two to join the SWP.

In the course of several hours of discussion with Tim and Nancy I learned the story of how they came to make that choice. It's a story about them and their ability to find their way politically under trying personal circumstances.

It begins when Wohlforth and Fields were forced out of the Workers League in the fall of 1974. They left in what is one of the more bizarre episodes in the annals of sectarian politics, an often bizarre subject to begin with.

With no advance warning, Gerry Healy suddenly charged that Fields was a CIA agent. The only evidence was that she had a relative who had worked for the CIA. When Wohlforth refused to go along with this wild accusation, Healy proceeded to drive both Wohlforth and Fields out of his movement.

Wohlforth told the whole grotesque story in a statement serialized in *Intercontinental Press* early last year.

Once outside the confines of Healy's movement, Tim and Nancy found themselves in a position where they were forced to reevaluate their entire political outlook.

Over the following months they looked with fresh eyes at the problems and opportunities facing socialists. The conclusions they eventually reached provide some new and valuable insights into these questions.

In our discussions they talked about how the SWP is measuring up to the challenge of the new

political situation in the United States and about how the party has fared in evaluating developments on a world scale.

They discussed how a socialist organization is put together and how the SWP's experiences stack up against those of some others who have tried their hand at this task.

Nancy was cleared of the CIA charge by Healy's own investigation. But in the months since Wohlforth and Fields left his movement, Healy has raised even more fantastic charges about agents—this time inside the SWP. Tim and Nancy also touched on that and related it to the breakup of Healy's own movement.

In some ways Wohlforth's and Fields's decision to become part of the SWP is an example of how the socialist movement will be constructed. Revolutionary politics are based on events in a changing world—not on personalities. History has shown that these changes can bring together forces that had once been at odds—often quite sharply at odds.

Today big political upheavals raise the possibility of unity among various socialist currents on an international scale. Tim and Nancy think the SWP's approach to this process has important implications for the future of revolutionary socialism.

First we talked about what Wohlforth and Fields are doing now as SWP members.

Tim is a leader of the SWP branch in New York's Lower East Side. Catarino Garza is running for Congress in the area, and Tim is active in the Garza campaign committee.

This is not the first time Tim has worked in this part of New York. The Workers League had attempted to gain a base on the Lower East Side. Its policy, however, was to oppose the central struggle going on in that area since 1968—the fight of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to control the schools. Thus the Workers League's activities in the community were divorced from the aspirations and real political advances of working people in that community.

Still, Tim thinks that some of the reach-out techniques used by the Workers League in such neighborhoods when he was in its leadership are still valuable. The SWP in New York has made it its business to learn from the background and experiences that Wohlforth and Fields have brought to the party.

Tim continued, "But in trying to win a base for the Workers League in working-class communities, we were cut off from the real strengths of our work, because we maintained a narrow and sectarian line. We talked to people about general ideas. But we weren't involved in concrete fights where we could show leadership in struggle."

The SWP, on the other hand, has a history of doing just that, he points out. For several years the party has been deeply involved in the struggles of the Spanish-speaking and Chinese people on the Lower East Side to control their own schools.

"The Garza campaign builds on the foundation of that earlier work," Tim said. "It's currently the focus of the party's effort to build a base in this predominantly Puerto Rican area. What the SWP has done here is not 'community work,' but work of a rounded, political character that can strengthen every aspect of party work."

Wohlforth is also teaching two classes, one an introductory class on socialism and the other on the history of the American working class and the struggle for a labor party.

Fields's work is centered in the downtown Brooklyn SWP branch.

"I was able to get involved in an important SWP campaign—Pat Wright's campaign for Congress," Fields told me.

Nancy learned a lot about Brooklyn during her years in the Workers League. One of the first things she was asked to do after joining the SWP branch was to organize a weekend campaign mobilization in the various working-class districts of Brooklyn. As part of preparing the branch for this activity, she presented a detailed discussion about Brooklyn, the composition of the neighborhoods, the factories, the hospitals, and so forth.

Fields also brought to the party some valuable techniques for building the Wright campaign in the area.

Nancy suggested that work be concentrated in several specific areas in Wright's congressional district. "We began to send teams of three or four people through the housing projects. They talked about the campaign and sold the *Militant*."

"Having three people going door to door for two hours can be more effective than sending ten people to ten different locations for an hour each," she pointed out. "It's just a more powerful way to make your presence felt in the neighborhood."

This has paid off. In one housing development there is now a weekly class series on socialism. In another, a campaign rally and banquet were being planned.

Wohlforth's and Fields's experiences on this level are particularly useful to the party right now. One year ago the SWP launched a turn in its work—adjusting its activities in a variety of ways in order to better relate to the new political climate produced by the economic crisis. Among other things, this turn has meant deepening the party's involvement in the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women, as well as bringing these struggles into the unions. It has also meant establishing new party branches in working-class neighborhoods.

## Political Histories

Both Wohlforth and Fields have rich and varied political histories.

The SWP once collaborated politically with Healy before he veered off in a sectarian political direction. When the SWP and Healy parted company in the early sixties, Wohlforth went with Healy.

Wohlforth's political activity began in the mid-fifties. He was then a student at Oberlin College in Ohio, where he established a campus socialist club, one of the few in the country at the time.

Wohlforth also joined a national organization, the Young Socialist League. In 1957 there was a split in the YSL. The right wing was led by Michael Harrington, today a well-known writer and leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Wohlforth was among the leaders of the left wing. Together with members of the SWP, they founded the *Young Socialist*

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newspaper in 1957.

Three years later they formed the Young Socialist Alliance and Wohlforth became the youth group's first national secretary. The Southern-based civil rights movement was under way. Supporting it was central to the work of the YSA when Wohlforth was in the leadership of the organization.

What does Wohlforth think now about the differences that caused him to leave the SWP in 1964? I will come back to that later.

After he left the SWP Wohlforth and a handful of others founded the Workers League in 1966. With a lot of sacrifice and hard work—and a boost from a deepening radicalization—the organization eventually attracted as many as 200 members. By concentrating a huge portion of its resources on the project, the Workers League began issuing a twice-weekly newspaper in 1973.

While I was familiar with Tim's background, Nancy's was unknown to me.

I found out that she grew up in Milwaukee. Her political activity began in 1963 when she was eighteen years old. That year she went down to Selma, Alabama, to work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. But her stay was cut short.

SNCC work was dangerous. Three young civil rights workers were murdered in neighboring Mississippi early that summer. SNCC had a policy of requiring volunteers Nancy's age to get their parents' permission for what they were doing.

Nancy's parents were not only unsympathetic to her civil rights work, they didn't even know she was in Alabama. So without their permission, she had to return north.

The next fall she began college at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. "Since the level of political activity was very low at that point in Cleveland, I spent most of my time making an academic study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky," she said. "I also went to some classes a YSA member, John McCann, was giving on campus. They were on Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed*."

She didn't join the YSA, but from that time on she considered herself a socialist, sympathetic to the positions of Trotsky.

In the fall of 1966 Fields transferred to Columbia University in New York. "I had liked the classes in Cleveland, and when I saw some leaflets about classes in Marxism, I decided to go."

It turned out that the Workers League was giving these classes. But it would be 1970 before Fields actually joined. She held off mainly because she thought the group was wrong for not getting involved in the student movement.

#### Antiwar Activist

She marched in all the big antiwar demonstrations, usually with the Workers League contingent.

When the big campus rebellion at Columbia broke out in the spring of 1968, Nancy was right in the middle of the action. "We took over a building for seven days. I thought at the time it was the most exciting seven days of my life."

Later she worked with the Peace and Freedom party in New York. After moving to California in 1969, she helped organize a countywide rent strike in Los Angeles.

"I was an activist," she said. "I would get involved in all kinds of activities. While I would get into arguments defending Marxism, I didn't really see any reason to join a Marxist party."

What changed her mind? "I began to realize the contradiction between considering myself a socialist and being caught up in various community-reformist schemes. I think the final straw came when we found out that we had won all our demands in the countywide rent strike only to be told that the Department of Housing and Urban Development had no funds to implement those demands.

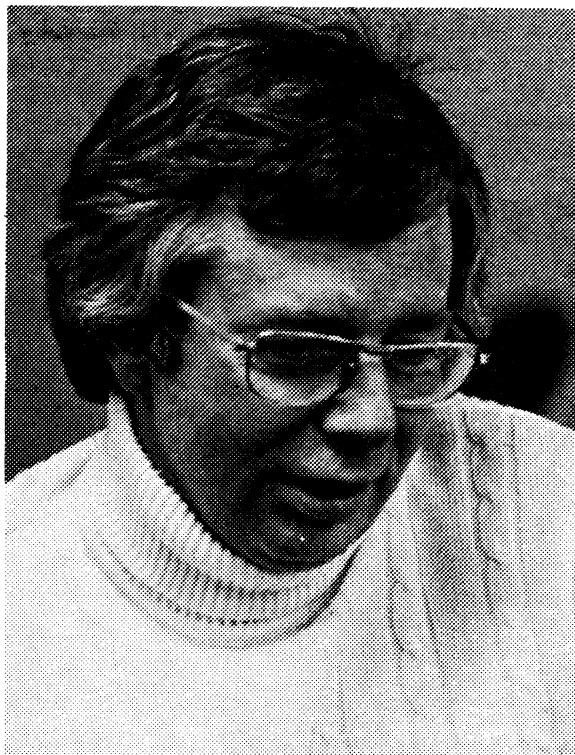
"It was at that point that I decided that the only way to be effective was to be part of a party fighting for socialism.

"Around the end of 1970 I returned to New York and joined the Workers League, which I saw as the revolutionary party in America."

What did she think of the SWP at this time?

"My opinion was that the SWP was a liberal organization. I thought it was a one-issue party built around the question of the war.

"It wasn't until after I was out of the Workers League that I was able to understand the real



Nelson Blackstock

TIM WOHLFORTH: "Democratic demands are not simply "permissible" for revolutionists to raise. Under specific circumstances the party must lead the fight for democratic demands, as Lenin explained in his pamphlet "What Is To Be Done."

importance of the SWP's role in the antiwar movement.

"But I thought the Linda Jenness campaign was important," she added.

Jenness was the SWP's presidential candidate in 1972.

"And I liked Fred Halstead."

"Nancy always liked Halstead," Tim interjected. "That was her one deviation at all points."

Halstead, who ran for president in 1968, was a leader of the SWP's work in the antiwar movement.

#### Juan Farinas Defense Campaign

"I joined the Workers League during the Juan Farinas campaign. It wasn't long before I was asked to join the full-time staff of the Workers League to help run the case."

Juan Farinas was a young Cuban-American activist who faced prison on trumped-up charges of draft evasion.

"I saw this case as one way we could help the Workers League break out of being a narrow, sectarian group that just criticized. I looked forward to actually building a broad-based defense committee—to getting out and talking to other groups, talking to students and workers.

"This was a different approach for the organization. And we were able to have some very big meetings around the Farinas defense, especially on the West Coast.

Farinas was finally railroaded to jail in 1972.

By leading a series of Ohio trailblazing campaigns, Fields later laid the groundwork for



Nelson Blackstock

NANCY FIELDS: "We had always tended to look at the working class as if it were one homogeneous body of people, with no layers, no discrimination, and no need for special demands directed at special forms of oppression."

setting up Workers League branches in Ohio, including one near the famous General Motors plant in Lordstown.

Wohlforth and Fields, then, were both leaders of an organization and responsible for many of its gains. What happened when they suddenly found themselves on the outside? And how did they manage to find their way to the SWP?

Nancy recalled one small incident that she thinks put her on the right track. Ironically, the man who unwittingly directed her toward the SWP, she says, was Gerry Healy.

It happened at the close of the Workers League gathering where Healy had labeled her a CIA agent.

"Healy was on his way back to England. As he was leaving he paused, patted me on the shoulder, and for some reason said, 'Well, my dear, you're going to find out it's tough to be a communist.'

"That started me thinking. Well, what does it really mean to be a communist, a revolutionary socialist? I decided I would start reading something about how parties are built."

The previous year the Workers League had organized a class on *Speeches to the Party* by James P. Cannon, the founder of the SWP.

"I began rereading that. There is a lot of material in there on how you assemble the cadres of a party. Cannon talks about a 'control commission,' an impartial body that can conduct a calm, objective investigation of something like a reasonable suspicion that a party member might be a police agent.

"It's all in there. Before long I began to have bookmarks stuck all over. Every night when Tim would come home, I would say to him, 'Listen to this. This is what Cannon said.'"

"You would jump on me as soon as I walked through the door," Tim said.

"It became clear to me that Healy's methods were wrong," Nancy continued. "That's not how you build a movement."

"While we can now see how we really didn't grasp much of it, we had always taken the history of the SWP very seriously and tried to train people in it," Tim indicated. This general attitude toward James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the SWP, now became very important.

Moreover, the method by which they approached the problems they were grappling with influenced their course. "We began from the question of how we can build a revolutionary movement rooted in the working class," Tim explained. "We didn't begin by trying to defend some little doctrine. Or by setting up a little group for that purpose."

#### SWP and the Busing Struggle

The time was now the fall of 1974. The busing struggle in Boston was rapidly heating up.

Almost every day there would be news of another assault on the Black people of that city. Even more disturbing in some ways was the absence of any kind of response to the growing racist violence.

"We felt very strongly about the importance of taking up an offensive against the racists," Tim remembers.

In December of that year the SWP threw its resources into building a probusing demonstration in Boston. This was the biggest response to the racists up to that time, and it laid the basis for future activity.

Wohlforth and Fields were inspired by the SWP's efforts. At the same time, the Workers League's refusal to have anything to do with the action further repelled them from Healy's politics.

As they continued to review their experiences they began to reach the conclusion that Healy had always been unable to comprehend the significance of Black oppression in this country. That was what was really behind the abstention of his American followers from the Boston march.

Just after the Boston march they finished a long political statement signed by Wohlforth. For the first time they revealed to the public the conditions under which they had left the Workers League.

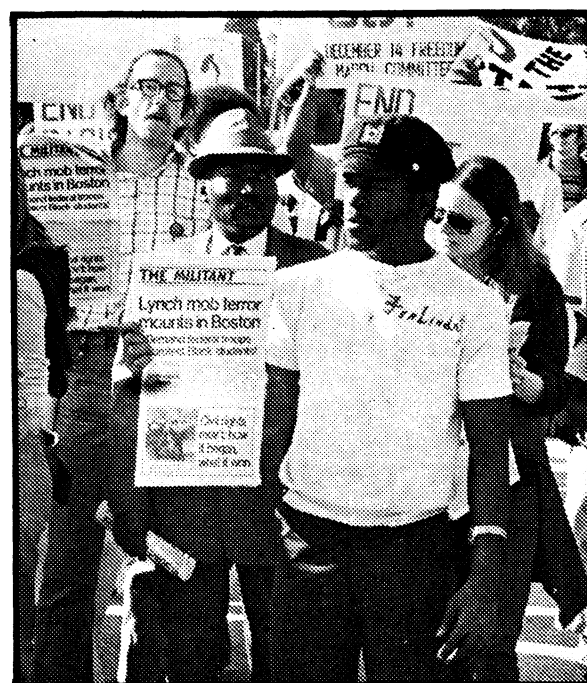
They mailed the document out to several left-wing groups. Only the editors of *Intercontinental Press* printed the entire statement.

"By the time we had completed writing it, our general orientation was in the direction of the SWP," Wohlforth told me.

I asked *Intercontinental Press* editor Joseph



Flax Hermes



Miguel Pendas

Tim and Nancy felt strongly about the importance of an offensive against the racists in Boston. The SWP led in building the first big demonstration answering the racists in December 1974, while the Workers League refused to have anything to do with the action.

Hansen what was behind the decision to print the Wohlforth statement.

"It came through the mail, and we didn't talk to Wohlforth before printing it," Hansen said. "The material in it sounded absolutely true. It corresponded to other information about Healy that was a matter of public record.

"We noted that the *Bulletin* [the newspaper reflecting the Workers League's views] had said nothing whatsoever about what had happened to Wohlforth," Hansen continued. "Evidently they were trying to suppress something. We felt we should make the information available to the radical movement."

Immediately after printing Wohlforth's article, Hansen evaluated its contents. "In time," he wrote, "Wohlforth may make the necessary reappraisal of his years with Healy. Let us hope so."

The appearance of the statement in *Intercontinental Press* marked a turning point for Wohlforth and Fields. But it would still be several months before they resolved to their own satisfaction a range of political questions that divided them from the SWP.

As they think back on this now, they recall several factors—both before and after the publication of the article—that interacted to influence the direction of their thinking. The key things have already been mentioned: the Boston developments, Cannon's writings, and a broad concern for the needs of the working class.

### New View on Women's Liberation

Their ideas on women's liberation changed in an unexpected way. While in the Workers League, both worked full-time for the organization.

"Now Nancy was forced to take the most god-awful job, dominated by economic and social discrimination against women," Tim recalled.

The impact of the day-to-day world of a woman worker in New York City caused them to reconsider the Workers League's view that the women's liberation movement is a middle-class diversion.

Nancy began to think back on her experiences before joining the Workers League. "A big difference I always had with them—and I maintained it for a while even after joining—was over the student movement. I had thought they were sectarian in how they approached the big student struggles in the sixties. Now I began to think that maybe I had been right after all."

"One of the things that we began to see," Tim said, "is that there was a parallel between the way the SWP was now approaching the work in Boston and the way it had approached the antiwar movement."

As leaders of the Workers League, they had consistently criticized the SWP's strategy in the antiwar movement.

"Our differences began to narrow. They didn't seem to be as great. Maybe there was a tactical difference here or there," Tim continued. "But the idea of the mass movement against the war—on the principled basis of forcing America out of Vietnam—that began to make some sense.

"It took a period of time to realize that our agreement with the party on Boston actually

represented a certain break with an older way of thinking that is shared by many radicals who are outside the SWP," Tim explained. "It involves a rigid conception of the working class in which the class struggle is seen simply as a matter involving the unions."

Nancy elaborated: "We had always tended to lump everything together—to look at the working class in its 'ideal form'—as if it were one homogeneous body of people marching off to the factory gate. No levels, no layers, no discrimination between one and another."

These layers Nancy talked about suffer their own special kinds of oppression—as Blacks, as Puerto Ricans, as women. Consequently, special demands are necessary to meet their needs. Demands such as for the right of Blacks to get an equal education or for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment are democratic demands.

Some in the radical movement, Tim and Nancy noted, tend to ignore the needs of these layers and to play down the importance of democratic demands.

"They will counterpose a full socialist program to certain democratic demands that come up because of the issues posed to Blacks, to women, or to others," Tim said. "Or, if they consider themselves to be Trotskyists, they will often counterpose what we call 'transitional demands.'"

One example of this type of demand is the call for "30 for 40"—workers should work only thirty hours for forty hours' pay to solve the problems of unemployment.

The SWP raises this particular demand today. It is addressed to the needs of *all* workers. But it is also necessary to raise demands addressed to the needs of the most oppressed layers.

Tim continued, "Democratic demands aren't simply something about which one can formally say, 'I am for.' Or say that they are 'permissible' to raise.

"Under specific circumstances the party must lead the fight for certain democratic demands. In this period all over the world the liberal middle class will not. They might support some of these demands, but they won't lead the fight for them."

This is not a new idea.

"I think Lenin explained this particularly well in the early years of the development of the Russian revolutionary movement. You can see it in his *What Is to Be Done?* But it has been forgotten by many on the left."

Nancy gave a concrete example of what this mistake means in practice:

"The Workers League—like almost all organizations, no matter how sectarian—would be in favor of women having the right to abortion. But that didn't mean that we felt a responsibility to lead or participate in a movement around that specific question.

"The same applies today to the Equal Rights Amendment. We wouldn't have opposed such a thing. We just wouldn't have done anything about it."

The SWP is today very much involved in the movement for the passage of the ERA.

"Furthermore," Tim added, "we didn't recognize that on such a principled democratic issue we ought to unite everyone who agrees with it in

a united mass action to win it."

That was the strategy that made a mass movement against the war in Vietnam possible.

"We failed to see that at that stage in America the greatest aid we could give to the Vietnamese workers and peasants would be to construct a mass movement demanding that the troops get out."

Reaching these conclusions was a process.

### Thought for Themselves

"We didn't begin by simply saying we were wrong on this or that. Rather, in light of Boston and other events we began to be able to think through these questions on our own, as Marxists."

One important point in this process was the SWP convention in August 1975. The party invited Tim and Nancy to attend.

"Seeing the convention with my own eyes made the party come to life for me," Nancy said. "We got very excited about certain reports. The new work among Chicanos. Jeff Mackler's description of the activity among teachers."

"Something that especially impressed me," Tim said, "—and this is something Nancy, who had never been in the SWP couldn't have known—is the extent to which the party has held its members over the years.

"This was true both of the people I'd known back when I was in the movement and of party members I had met over the years in various areas of work."

The membership of the SWP reflects the character and tempo of the radicalization in this country. A layer of older members came to the revolutionary movement during the working-class battles of the 1930s and 1940s. Few joined during the 1950s. But as a new radicalization emerged in the next two decades, new members came out of these struggles into the party.

"I was struck by the party's ability to bring about a transition of leadership. The party has held on to the older layer of members and those who joined during the sixties. At the same time new members continue to develop and they are brought into the leadership."

Most SWP members would see nothing unusual about this. But few organizations confronted with this problem have been able to solve it.

"This stood in such stark contrast to Healy's group," Tim went on. "There is such a fantastic chewing up of people. And, unfortunately, the Workers League found itself in many ways imitating his methods."

Wohlforth feels that these methods drove a lot of members out of the organization. This is one of the things he most regrets about his own activities in that period—that some valuable and talented people may have been permanently lost to the revolutionary movement through this process.

"The SWP's methods of party building are not generally understood," Tim observed.

At the convention the party adopted a resolution to guide its work in this country. Titled "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution," it assessed the deepening economic and social crisis in this country.

"We had already decided that Trotskyism was



going to develop through the SWP, and we wanted to be a part of that," Tim said.

"But when we saw that resolution, we knew that the party was consciously trying to carry forward what needed to be done in this period."

### Need for Labor Party

They were impressed by the way the party dealt with the need for the labor movement to set up its own political party. The formation of a labor party would be a big step forward for the American working class, which has no mass, independent voice to answer the two capitalist parties.

"I think to this day that one of the good things we did in the Workers League was to stress and popularize the idea of a labor party," Tim said. "But we had never really come to grips with the process by which such a party could be constructed. What does it come out of? Around what issues do you fight for it? Is it simply something that you talk about?"

"It struck us that the SWP resolution recognized the economic crisis and its impact on the working class," Nancy said. "Then it went on to see how this would develop, and around what issues you would have to fight in order to pull together the forces for a labor party."

During the convention there was a discussion over whether or not the SWP should favor special demands to meet the needs of recently hired Black and female workers. Traditionally, the labor movement has advocated a policy of strict seniority—last hired, first fired.

However, that practice today has tended to wipe out the gains won by women and Black workers who have recently broken into jobs previously closed to them. The convention decided to support demands aimed at protecting these gains, such as the proposal that layoffs not reduce the percentage of minority workers or women in a given shop or industry.

"When we were in the Workers League there would have been no possibility of supporting such a demand," Tim said. "We would have been for '30 for 40.' Period. But we decided we were for the position the convention adopted."

"The SWP's stand on this has certainly been confirmed," Nancy noted. "All you have to do is take a look at the crisis in New York City. Almost all the gains have been wiped out by the cutbacks."

In their estimation the SWP had met a critical test.

"The test for a revolutionary movement is the way it responds to the needs of the working class," Tim said. "I can't conceive of another test."

"We became deeply convinced that the SWP was determined to make a turn more deeply into the working class and its growing struggles. From that point on we fought to get that understanding to everyone else we knew who had come out of the Workers League, the Workers Revolutionary party in Britain, or elsewhere."

Not long after the convention Wohlforth and Fields completed a statement entitled 'In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective.' It laid out their thinking at that point and showed where they thought the SWP was correct as opposed to Healy and his followers.

### Internationalism of the SWP

The convention was influential in yet another way.

"The last question I changed my thinking on was the break in the early sixties," Tim said. That was when he sided with Healy and left the SWP.

"As we moved toward the SWP we felt we were still right about the issues in 1963," Tim recalled. "Although that was more true for me than Nancy."

"At the convention we were hit by the internationalism of the party. It seemed to me that the party had grown tremendously in its understanding of international questions since the time I had been in."

"One of the things that was most impressive," Nancy said, "was the knowledge of party members on international affairs."

"That stood in sharp contrast to any kind of international understanding we had developed in the Workers League," Tim said. "And we thought we were big internationalists."

The discussion of world politics was always on the most abstract level in Healy's movement, they indicated. The SWP, on the other hand, was

actually tackling the concrete problems facing revolutionaries in different countries.

In Healy's international movement, they revealed, there was not even a discussion bulletin in which members in the national groupings could take part in working out a common stand on international topics.

After the convention they began to ask themselves why this internationalism existed inside the SWP.

"We started to think that it must have come from the party's decision in 1963 to move toward collaboration with the forces in the United Secretariat of the Fourth International," Wohlforth said, "and within that framework, to confront all the political problems of building the movement on a world scale."

The SWP is not formally affiliated with the Fourth International because of reactionary legislation that places prohibitive conditions on such affiliation. But the party is in political solidarity with that world body.

In 1953 there had been a rupture in the world Trotskyist movement, involving primarily differences over the character of Stalinism, over the need for a revolutionary party, and over organizational norms of an international revolutionary organization. The SWP and Healy agreed on the disputed questions then.

Over the course of time a reunification became possible, because the majority on both sides came to a common appreciation of the pressing political tasks of the day—defense of the Cuban revolution, the Algerian revolution, and the struggle for workers democracy inside the Soviet bloc as manifested in the 1956 Hungarian revolution. But Healy refused to take part when the reunification occurred in 1963.

One of the excuses for his sectarian course was his insistence that reunification be preceded by a thorough discussion of the questions at issue ten years earlier.

"It's most revealing," Wohlforth observed, "that to this day Healy himself has never really written anything on many of these matters—including the nature of Stalinism, the Chinese revolution, and why workers states developed in Eastern Europe."

"He demanded that everyone probe these issues. But he himself never really probed them. That includes Cuba, too."

One of the issues in the 1963 dispute was Cuba—whether an authentic socialist revolution had taken place there. Healy maintained—and still does to this day—that no revolution had occurred and Castro was nothing but another version of Batista, the former dictator.

"It didn't take us more than a few weeks to see that Healy was all wrong on Cuba," Tim said.

"Everyone who drops out of the Workers League immediately changes their position on Cuba," Nancy added.

Healy's decision to deny that a revolution had taken place there—despite all evidence to the contrary—was linked to his sectarian attitude toward the young revolutionary forces in Latin America and elsewhere who were inspired by and attracted to the Cuban revolution. The SWP and its cothinkers abroad took a wholly positive attitude toward this and were able to bring many of these new forces into their ranks.

In 1963 Wohlforth agreed with Healy both on Cuba and on making a discussion of the divisions in the 1950s a precondition for reunification.

"In thinking about the evolution of Healy's 'International Committee' and the development of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, it became clear that those questions couldn't really be probed very deeply in 1963," he said.

"What was needed was to create the conditions whereby there could be a united movement that could discuss these and other questions as they went through a common experience in a new period. And that is what has happened."

"A discussion process is taking place internationally within the United Secretariat and the forces that look to it."

"Meanwhile, the International Committee has been able to produce nothing more than a series of splits."

Wohlforth thinks it's significant that Healy's break with the SWP "coincided with a break in England from a twenty-year history of work within the Labour party. No clear orientation one way or another toward that party has since been adopted by Healy."

During the entire period of Tim's and Nancy's movement toward the SWP, events in Portugal occupied the attention of socialists around the world. The SWP's assessment of the unfolding class struggle in that country was another significant factor attracting them to the party.

They think there is a similarity in the way the SWP looks at developments in the United States and its approach toward what was happening in Portugal.

"The SWP began with the most fundamental issues facing the working class," Tim noted. "In the course of their struggles the workers here must break from the Democratic and Republican parties as their first step toward independent political action."

"In Portugal the SWP recognized that you couldn't jump over the stage of the masses of workers fighting for their own political independence and their own parties becoming the government."

"You couldn't expect that the workers would turn away from the Socialist and Communist parties in some kind of spontaneous way, any more than we in this country are going to be able to avoid the battle to break the masses of the workers from the Democrats."

### Hysteria and Disintegration

One of the last things we talked about was the most recent chapter in Healy's strange history.

For several months now Healy has been making the fantastic and scandalous accusation that Joseph Hansen and George Novack—both longtime leaders of the SWP and the Fourth International, and both personal collaborators with Leon Trotsky during the last years of his life—are "accomplices of the GPU."

The GPU was Stalin's secret police.

Healy offers no proof. But, apparently on the theory that if you say something loudly and often enough, somebody is liable to believe it, he is repeating the charge incessantly. Issue after issue of the Workers League's *Bulletin* trumpets this slander, usually in the largest headline type available.

What's behind this incredible campaign?

"This hysteria is to seal off their own members from the SWP," Fields believes. "They see the SWP growing and involving itself in struggles of the working class. At the same time Healy's own movement has been disintegrating. They hope to create the impression that the leadership of the SWP is totally corrupt, even composed of agents. In this way they seek to prevent their membership and anyone who will listen to them from objectively looking at what the SWP is doing today."

This process of disintegration of Healy's International Committee actually began in 1971 with the departure of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, a sizable French Trotskyist group.

The split from Healy by Wohlforth and Fields is not an isolated development. A number of other top leaders of the Healy current have left as well. John Tully, formerly a leading member of Healy's Australian group, quit around that time and subsequently joined the section of the Fourth International in that country. The leader of Healy's Irish followers, Dermot Whelan, has also left.

"Healy's Portuguese group split," Tim noted. "The Peruvian organization had split earlier. And just recently the leadership of the Greek group was expelled. That was the only relatively large and growing group."

But the biggest blow of all came with the loss of Alan Thornett and a key section of Healy's own party in Britain.

"The Thornett group was really the industrial base of the Workers Revolutionary party," Tim noted. "Mainly auto workers, they joined Healy's movement ten years ago."

"There were almost 200 of them who were thrown out by Healy," Nancy said. "They were leaders of his movement. Some were on the central committee."

"They had run into difficulty trying to apply Healy's ultimatic policies in the trade unions," Tim explained.

"When they raised some suggestions about bringing the transitional program into their work in a more living way, they immediately faced bureaucratic action."

"Thornett was their most valued and important trade unionist," Tim said. "I knew it because Healy said it all the time. And I knew it because I

had seen his work firsthand."

Thornett and others have since formed their own group, the Workers Socialist League. Its paper, *Socialist Press*, printed an article by Wohlforth assessing the contributions of SWP founder James P. Cannon, written before he joined the SWP. The paper followed this with comments, some critical, on Wohlforth's piece.

Tim and Nancy made a final point, one they think is especially important.

"I recall when we had our first face-to-face discussions with SWP leaders," Nancy said. "It was at the end of May last year.

"I remember how impressed I was at the way they approached the discussion. We had an open, frank exchange of political opinions. They asked what we thought about Black nationalism, and we told them. The women's movement was raised, and we told them what we thought about that.

"The labor party came up. We said we didn't think the party was fighting hard enough on that.

"It wasn't a situation where the party said you

agree with us or else.

"Things were much different with Healy."

"At no point during these discussions did the party put any pressure on us to change our ideas," Tim said. "Virtually all this process of rethinking has come through our own personal discussions and experiences.

"That's important. Because in the beginning we certainly didn't agree on a number of different questions.

"At every point it was a matter of honest and open discussion of questions where there was a difference."

If a member of Healy's group raised even a small difference of opinion, that person "would be jumped on, screamed at—the whole thing was blown out of context," Tim recalled.

"By this process he destroyed his own movement. He created an atmosphere where he couldn't learn from others.

"The test of a party over a period of time is its ability to change as the world changes—not that it has the whole thing all worked out at any given moment.

"The SWP has been able to do that," Tim continued. "To be open enough so this process can take place. It's possible to have the kinds of discussions and initiatives whereby the party is able to change."

The open and cordial way the leaders and the rank-and-file members of the party treated them was important.

"Especially since there would be good reason for people to take another attitude," Tim pointed out. "After all, we were harsh—at times even vicious—critics of the party for a number of years."

The SWP's attitude toward political forces beginning to draw closer can have important implications for the revolutionary movement, they are both convinced.

"It's no small matter," Tim said. "I think it could very well play a decisive role in the development of the party here—and in the SWP's part in helping to develop the Fourth International in this period."

# Pragmatism vs. Marxism

George Novack's critique of John Dewey's philosophy is a bicentennial panorama of the rise and decline of American capitalist democracy and its ideology.

## Pragmatism Versus Marxism

### An Appraisal of

### John Dewey's Philosophy

By George Novack. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York, 1975. 320 pp.

### By Fred Feldman

The elaborate official commemorations of the bicentennial are taking place in an atmosphere of deepening pessimism about the future of the United States—far different from the popular mood when the Declaration of Independence was issued in 1776. Then the colonists were caught up in the fervor of the struggle for independence. They were convinced that their actions would lead to a freer and more prosperous nation.

The centennial celebrations in 1876 came in the wake of the victory of capitalist industry and democracy over the Southern slave system in the Civil War. Although the ex-slaves were being deprived of most of their newly won rights and Native Americans faced near extermination, millions of white Americans were convinced that new heights of prosperity and freedom were attainable within an expanding capitalist system.

The mood of Americans today bears little resemblance to those of 1776 and 1876. The war in Vietnam, the succession of scandals and revelations beginning with Watergate, and the world economic depression have generated a widespread feeling that American capitalism has passed its peak and is on the downgrade.

The professional idea-men and ideologists express this mood even more sharply than the average citizen. Officials such as Henry Kissinger openly predict the doom of Western civilization.

Liberal intellectuals—who have traditionally sought to persuade working people of the basic soundness of the political and economic structure—today seem barren of new ideas to make capitalism work better. In books such as Daniel Bell's *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* and Robert Heilbroner's *The Decline of Business Civilization*, these thinkers sound like prophets of inevitable decline and decay.

Incapable of showing the way to a superior social order, they advise the American people to prepare for worsening living standards and greater restrictions on democratic rights.

The deepening crisis of American capitalism, expressed in the pessimism of such intellectuals, gives a special timeliness to George Novack's *Pragmatism versus Marxism*.

Novack's book is a kind of bicentennial panorama of the development and perspectives of American philosophy, centering on the philosophy of pragmatism as developed in its mature instrumentalist form by John Dewey.

Dewey was the outstanding American philosopher of his time. Born in 1859, just before the start of the Civil War, he died during the Korean War in 1952. Over his long lifetime he exercised a strong influence not only in the field of philosophy, but also in education, culture, and the reform movements of his day.

His ideas have provided a theoretical foundation for the liberal defenders and patchers-up of capitalism. The supposed practical effectiveness of instrumentalism is contrasted by these liberals to Marxism, which they regard as dogmatic because of its stress on the driving force of the class struggle and the necessity for revolutionary change.

### What Is Pragmatism?

"What is pragmatism?" Novack writes. "First, pragmatism is what pragmatism does. It is the habit of acting in disregard of solidly-based scientific rules and tested principles. In everyday life, pragmatism is activity which proceeds from the premise (either explicit or unexpressed) that nature and society are essentially indeterminate. Pragmatic people rely not upon laws, rules, and principles which reflect the determinate features and determining factors of objective reality, but principally upon makeshifts, rule-of-thumb methods, and improvisations based on what they believe might be immediately advantageous. Such is the kind of practice out of which the theorizing of pragmatic philosophy has grown."

In this form, pragmatism not only dominates the thinking of intellectuals, but profoundly influences the consciousness of the working masses. Indeed, from infancy, Americans virtually soak in pragmatism through their pores from the social and political atmosphere. In almost all walks of American life, a reputation for being "pragmatic," rather than burdened by convictions and principles, is much sought after.

Observing the pervasiveness of pragmatism in the United States, Leon Trotsky in 1940 urged American Marxists, and particularly George Novack, to undertake the defense of Marxist philosophy. The result was a series of works by Novack on major philosophic trends, which include *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, *The Origins of Materialism, Empiricism and Its*

### Evolution, and Humanism and Socialism.

*Pragmatism versus Marxism* is the crowning work in this series. Just as Engels in *Anti-Dühring* and Plekhanov in *The Monist Conception of History* challenged nonmaterialist trends that were influential among the German and Russian oppositionists of their time, so Novack seeks to analyze and refute a method of thought that profoundly influences many fighters for social change in the United States.

In analyzing pragmatism, Novack uses the method of historical materialism. He uncovers pragmatism's roots in the development of the class struggles in the United States.

Novack demonstrates that philosophy has played a larger role in American history than most people suspect. Progressive trends in American philosophy have helped opponents of the status quo to understand and criticize oppressive conditions and aided them in the search for means to overturn them.

The leading American revolutionists of 1776 included thinkers who defended the most advanced philosophical ideas of their time. They counterposed empiricism and materialism to idealism, Deism to orthodox religion, and republicanism and democracy to monarchy.

After independence was won, the challenge to capitalist democracy by the Southern slaveholders produced a new wave of ideological ferment. The abolitionist forces of the pre-Civil War era were associated with the transcendentalist philosophy of Emerson and Thoreau. The transcendentalists subjected reactionary institutions and conventional thinking to scathing criticism from an idealist standpoint. Their thinking invigorated and reaffirmed the democratic ideology.

The third and highest stage of American philosophy to date came with the emergence of pragmatism at the end of the nineteenth century. This middle-class outlook was the method of the theoreticians of the Progressive movement.

The Progressive movement was a sweeping social upsurge that arose in response to the growth of monopoly capitalism after the Civil War. Originating among the farmers in the form of Populism, it spread to include the urban middle classes and many workers. Its economic goals were utopian—to preserve the economic independence of the middle classes from the encroachments of monopoly capital. Its related political goals were the extension of capitalist democracy with the aim of dislodging the monopoly capitalists from their dominance in government and the economy.

The Progressive movement gave a spur to muckraking exposures of capitalist crimes, fostered social realism in the arts, and prompted innovation in the social sciences. It also chalked up gains in some areas for democratic rights.

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However, Progressivism failed in its broader goals of increasing social equality and expanding democracy. This failure, Novack demonstrates, stemmed from its middle-class social base, which was destined to grow weaker with the advance of capitalism, and from its reformist perspective, which rejected a definitive break with the rule of the rich.

### Dewey's Progressive Role

Dewey's philosophy provided a theoretical foundation for the energetic, practical reformism of the Progressives. Unlike other philosophers of his time, Dewey insisted that philosophy was of little use to the people unless it provided a method for analyzing and solving the social problems of their time.

The source of knowledge in Dewey's instrumentalist version of pragmatism was not abstract thought divorced from social realities, as idealists held, or passive observation of a static world, as empiricists held, but experimental behavior, which Dewey defined as the practical activity of human beings.

The striving for knowledge is produced by practical problems that confront human beings in their societies. To solve these problems, Dewey said, human beings engage in inquiry that leads to hypotheses. The ultimate test of any idea or hypothesis is its ability to move toward solutions to practical problems it seeks to deal with.

Novack shows that this aspect of pragmatism played a progressive role in its time in shaking loose the stale idealism that had come to dominate philosophy in the universities.

While noting its positive aspects, Novack dissects the fatal weaknesses of Dewey's thought that not only prevented him from going beyond these limited philosophical accomplishments, but even negated them.

Dewey rejected the notion that human experience and thought produce lawful truths, or that correct ideas reflect the objective features of nature or society. Moreover, Dewey's philosophical stance favored evolutionary over revolutionary change, ignoring the fact that qualitative changes such as revolutions are necessitated precisely by the accumulation of gradual changes.

In his eagerness to free ideas and action from the dead hand of tradition and dogma, Novack explains, "Dewey placed so high a premium on novelty that he discounted the objective material causes underlying events. This denial of the past's effect upon the present is woven into the very fabric of Dewey's theory of knowledge, which construes any incident as an essentially fresh experience which may break every precedent."

This concept not only denies the validity of the lessons of historical experience, but leads to accepting the present social system as given, disparaging the importance of examining its historical roots and inner contradictions. A study of bourgeois democracy, for instance, reveals its origins in specific circumstances of class conflict, and provides clues to its ultimate replacement by proletarian democracy through yet another class struggle and revolutionary upheaval on a higher level.

Dewey rooted his theory of knowledge in an instrumentalist theory of the relations between human beings and nature. He held that natural laws are not objectively based but merely convenient devices for organizing knowledge and guiding action. Even the most solidly grounded scientific concepts are mere hypotheses that have no provable grounding in nature.

This arbitrary stance flies in the face of centuries of scientific progress that established a wide range of demonstrated facts about natural processes. Contrary to Dewey's own intentions, his concepts tend to blur the distinction between science and mysticism.

Dewey's theory reduced human action to shortsighted experimentation aimed at solving problems that were cut off from their material foundations. Thus, his philosophy blocked the development of scientific generalizations and broad perspectives, in favor of efforts to find short-term solutions to disconnected problems.

### Dewey and the Class Struggle

Dewey denied the importance of the class struggle in history. In his view, the social order consisted of "societies, associations, groups. . . . They may be gangs, criminal bands; clubs for sport, sociability and eating; scientific and professional organizations; political parties and unions within them; families; religious denominations, business partnerships and corporations; and so on in an endless list."

Dewey concludes: "To say that all past historic social progress has been the result of cooperation and not of conflict would be also an exaggeration. But exaggeration against exaggeration, it is the more reasonable of the two."

The road to social change for Dewey was the collaboration of all people of good will, regardless of class, around goals whose desirability would be demonstrated by inquiry and experimentation. This led Dewey to reject revolutionary struggle, suggesting compromise and conciliation as a way of settling conflicts. Novack shows how this approach inevitably favors the ruling capitalists—whose control of the factories and the state gives them the decisive advantage.

Dewey's superficial view of society prevented him and his disciples from foreseeing the actual course of capitalist development. The monopolies grew to complete dominance in the economy, and U.S. imperialism became deeply enmeshed in the world capitalist economy and its crises. The proletarianization of farmers, Black sharecrop-

freedom. Novack subjects pragmatism to its own ultimate test—the results.

Dewey—who often advanced schemes for preserving peace by moral pressure on governments—supported both world wars and the U.S. invasion of Korea. Prominent adherents of his pragmatic philosophy were liberal apologists for Washington's assault on Vietnam.

Far from moving toward economic equality with the aid of pragmatic reforms, the capitalist system has produced greater concentrations of wealth. The pragmatists' methods of analysis failed to foresee the depression of the 1930s. That catastrophe was ended not by patchwork reforms, but by the economic stimulus of a world war that cost tens of millions of lives.

Today, the pragmatic intellectuals are helpless in the face of the developing economic crisis. The reformist concessions that long buoyed them up are being replaced by assaults on the gains made by labor, women, and oppressed minorities.

Nor has capitalism become more democratic.



Breadline, 1937. 'The pragmatists' methods of analysis failed to foresee the depression of the 1930s. That catastrophe was ended not by patchwork reforms, but by the economic stimulus of a world war that cost tens of millions of lives. Today, the pragmatic intellectuals are again helpless in the face of the developing economic crisis.'

pers, and others brought a big decrease in the size and social weight of the middle classes that Dewey identified with. The rise of great industrial labor unions confronting capital on its home ground revealed for all to see the major contending forces in American society.

### Reform Through Education

Novack describes Dewey's efforts to apply his concept of social change by "consistently applying the principles of democracy, as he interpreted them, throughout the educational system." Novack continues: "First, the schools would be freely available to all from kindergarten to college. Second, the children would themselves carry on the educational process, aided and guided by the teacher. Third, they would be trained to behave cooperatively, sharing with and caring for one another. Then these creative, well-adjusted equalitarians would make over American society in their own image."

Dewey's progressive concepts of education became the focus of a sizable movement for educational reform, and influenced the thinking of several generations of educators. Nonetheless, the efforts of his followers to reform society through education have failed. His advances in educational policy have become the privilege of better-off students in a few private schools. In the public schools, some of Dewey's proposals were adapted to the purposes of capitalist education—the creation of a docile and conformist work force. Instead of being transformed by education, the capitalist system determined the fate of Dewey's innovations.

Dewey and his followers claimed that their methods could advance peace, prosperity, and

Capitalist politicians operate secretly as a matter of course, as demonstrated by the Pentagon papers, Watergate, and other revelations. A secret-police apparatus of unprecedented proportions has been built up. On the international plane, capitalist democracy is giving way to dictatorship in country after country.

Even the practical application of the instrumentalist theory of nature by capitalist industrialists has proved disastrous. For short-term goals (such as greater productivity or longer shelf-life) with a view to maximizing profits, they have introduced substances and processes into the environment with unforeseen long-term effects—such as pollution and cancer. Environmentalists warn that the blind misuse of the environment by profit-hungry industrialists threatens the natural foundation on which any social order depends.

Those who have stuck with the ideas of pragmatism despite this uninspiring record tend to be transformed from incisive critics of the status quo into liberal apologists for a capitalist order that routinely tramples on the high-minded goals they enunciate. Even Dewey, whose integrity stands out among American intellectuals, played this role in his support for imperialist wars.

### Peculiarities of American History

When Dewey's instrumentalism first made its appearance, it had certain progressive aspects in the context of the profound backwardness of American philosophical thinking. In Europe, Marx and Engels had provided a far sounder and more consistent explanation of the relations

between nature, society, theory, and practice than Dewey could provide. But their ideas found little response on this side of the Atlantic.

Novack explains that the peculiarities of American history were responsible for both the lack of interest in Marxism and the fact that pragmatism took such deep root. The tasks of settling and building up a capitalist society—with rich natural resources and few feudal encumbrances—put a premium on practical, immediately useful activity.

Class divisions were less sharply drawn in the United States during much of the nineteenth century so that working-class consciousness remained on a rudimentary level. The hope of economic and social advancement was strong. A large middle class of farmers, craftsmen, and shopkeepers and an expanding frontier acted as a powerful social buffer to soften the impact of conflicts between workers and capitalists.

A second factor was the strength of capitalist democracy. Unlike other countries, the United States underwent two profound social and political revolutions under bourgeois democratic auspices.

### Cult of Bourgeois Democracy

There developed a cult of bourgeois democracy as an omnipotent engine of social progress,

supposedly free at its core from the profane influence of the economically dominant capitalist class.

Even after capitalism began to play a reactionary role in its imperialist epoch, the vast wealth of American capitalism made it possible for the rulers to provide concessions of significant scope. This reinforced the mass belief in the viability of the capitalist social and political system.

Dewey's variety of pragmatism originated out of the optimism about capitalist progress and democracy that permeated nineteenth-century America. This philosophy no longer provides a basis for such optimism, as is evident from the depression that afflicts the modern-day pragmatic thinkers themselves. World capitalism is beset with economic crises, breakdowns, widespread famines, growth of dictatorships, and threats of war and destruction of the environment.

But Novack insists that the bankruptcy of pragmatism does not invalidate optimism about the future of humanity. Such optimism is still well founded if one begins from a more scientific perspective than Deweyism affords—a perspective that looks forward to a new social order rather than backward to the old.

"The latter-day pragmatists argue that American life and thought have gone beyond Marxism . . .," Novack writes. "This is a puerile and

superficial estimate. *The truth is: American life and thought have neither bypassed nor gone ahead of Marxism; they are only now beginning to grow up to it!*"

Instead of basing themselves on a middle class that is dwarfed by the two main social forces and incapable of independent action, fighters for social justice need to align themselves with the powerful American working class.

This is a social force with a vital, objective interest in equality, economic well-being, and democracy.

Instead of trying to patch up a deathly ill and historically regressive capitalist system, working people and their allies need to fight for a socialist society through revolutionary struggle.

Instead of getting waylaid by cloudy denials of humanity's ability to know reality, workers need to set out to remake that reality. This struggle will be advanced by the assimilation of the Marxist concepts of dialectical materialism, which are the most advanced product of centuries of progress in the social and natural sciences.

Novack's *Pragmatism versus Marxism* is a powerful weapon in the struggle to win American working people and the best of the American intellectuals to this wholly realistic perspective.

## LETTERS

### From a Socialist Feminist

**Editors:** Your article by Linda Jenness "Feminism and Socialism" [March 1976] shows a blindness that is unfortunately typical of socialist feminists.

It is not logical to assume that sexism, which has flourished throughout most of human history and long before the rise of capitalism, will be eliminated merely by an equitable distribution of material wealth and the abolition of reactionary laws.

Sexism has survived through the ages because it embodies privileges that men are unwilling to surrender. These privileges are not only material, but sexual and psychological. The willingness of women to believe that men will repudiate all dominance over us in the name of socialism—or any other cause—without a fight, is putting the ultimate victory of feminism in danger.

Jenness tries to excuse blatant sexism among socialist men by contending that only the political program of an organization is important. Whether the members of an organization make a travesty of its political ideals by their behavior seems to be of little concern.

Another excuse used by Jenness is that since Marx and the male Bolsheviks, despite sexist prejudices, were able to formulate revolutionary programs, and, in the latter case, carry such a program on to a socialist revolution, "individual" sexism doesn't matter. Is there any male revolutionary, past or present, that Jenness would trust to supervise a complete uprooting of sexism in society? I should hope not, for even as the male Bolsheviks were personally repelled by the radical feminism of Kollontai, so are most radical males repelled by a confrontation with radical feminism. How can "individual" sexism be unimportant when socialist women are officially allied with men to eradicate a disease that grows and flourishes in males like the last stages of syphilis. It is not logical to blindly trust males to help women spread a feminism that the overwhelming majority of

men (socialists included) have not internalized.

Jenness hastens to assure us that men are not the enemy, only the capitalist system. What she neglects to mention is the fact that sexist conditioning and the expectation of privilege can outlive any change in laws or economic systems. Men can be, at best, only temporary allies in the struggle against sexism. Socialist women should look carefully at the men around them. The behavior of many men may indicate which present "comrades" will become implacable enemies if the proposed revolution is carried out. The only thing more inexcusable than sexism in socialist males is the submission of socialist women who ignore it or make excuses for it.

Under a socialist system sexism will not die out unless people are conditioned and propagandized from childhood into antisexism just as surely as the present and previous generations were indoctrinated with sexism. Once the material conditions of sexism are eliminated, its psychological and sexual privileges must be made as immoral and horrible to a new generation as Satan was ever made in the eyes of any Puritan child.

Angela Denise Powell  
Detroit, Michigan

### Linda Jenness Replies

The letter from Angela Denise Powell raises important questions about the relationship between feminism and socialism.

Powell makes the point that in order to eradicate sexism there must be a fight by women. She points out that the job of eradicating sexism cannot be turned over to or left up to men.

I could not agree more. I believe that in order to get rid of sexism women must unite in our own organizations to fight around our own demands and in our own interests. That's why I believe we must build a mass feminist movement, as I said in the article "Feminism and Socialism."

I might add that I believe we must maintain our women's movement after the socialist revolution, too, precisely to guarantee that the demands of the feminist movement are met by the new society. This includes, as Powell says, educating

all members of society to the history and forms of women's oppression and the changes in institutions and attitudes necessary to the liberation of women.

The point of my article was that we must do something *in addition* to building a feminist movement. We must also build a revolutionary socialist party that can uproot capitalism and lay the basis for a socialist economy. Only a socialist reorganization of society can remove the *material* basis for women's oppression.

Powell accuses me of excusing blatant sexism among socialist men. I don't know where she got that idea. I don't excuse blatant sexism in *any* men.

I'm sure Powell would agree that people are products of this society. That means that even the best of men cannot totally escape the institutionalized and internalized sexist prejudices of this society. To be conscious of this is not to excuse it.

The point of my article was that the key to overthrowing the social foundations of sexism is not the reform of individual men's behavior, but to build an organization around a program in the interest of all the oppressed that will lead to a socialist transformation of society.

Powell thinks that men will never give up the privileges they have over women in the name of socialism or any other cause. I think she vastly overrates the advantages the mass of working men get as a result of sexism, as compared to the *disadvantages* that sexism means for them.

With Powell's theory it is impossible to explain why many men do, to varying degrees, support the struggle of women. To take an extreme example, how can she explain why George Meany has come out in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment? I think he and other union bureaucrats support ERA ratification because they know that the same reactionary forces that are out to defeat the ERA would like to destroy the labor unions as well if they could get that far. They sense that stopping these right-wing bigots is in the interest of the labor movement as a whole, not just women.

Working men can and must learn that it is to their advantage to fight every form of racist or sexist discrimination. This discrimination—lower wages for women, using them as a reserve pool of labor—aids the

employers in keeping wages down for all workers and keeping the different sectors of the labor movement fighting among themselves instead of united against the capitalist class.

Powell's theory is that men also benefit psychologically from their privileged status as against women. But we can assume this only if we wear the blinders that this society tries to put on us to prevent us from seeing anything except what's right before our eyes.

Men lean on their sexist attitudes and sense of superiority like a crutch to help hold them up under the weight of a society that strips them of real opportunities for self-fulfillment. But these very male attitudes that oppress women also dehumanize men and confine them in narrow sex stereotypes as well.

When the material basis for the narrow sexual definitions of male and female roles is eliminated and all human beings are given new opportunities to develop their potential, men will not need to bolster their egos at the expense of women.

It is to men's advantage to fight for that kind of society and to their disadvantage to try to hold on to this one and the privileges they receive at the expense of women.

This is not to say that men will automatically come to support the women's liberation struggle; it is the mobilization of women themselves that helps educate men about the fact that their real interests lie in supporting equal rights for all.

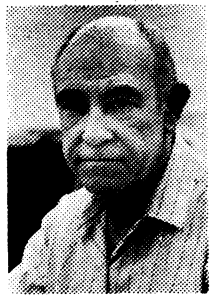
Both Powell and I agree that sexism is all-pervasive in our society. The question is how to get rid of it. I believe, as stated before, that one of the preconditions for freeing women is a socialist revolution. To make that revolution it will take a revolutionary socialist party composed of women and men. Or does Powell propose a socialist revolution made only by women? Or does she think a socialist revolution is not needed?

It is not too difficult to figure out what is wrong with society. It is much harder to figure out how to change it. In my article, I proposed that women must build a massive movement of women to fight sexism and that, in addition, we should unite with men in a revolutionary socialist party to fight capitalism. If Powell agrees with those two proposals, I hope she will join the Socialist Workers party. If she does not agree, I hope she will tell us what she proposes instead.



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## Shanker's cutback strategy

[The following guest column is by Lou Howort, a teacher at Grady High School in Brooklyn and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.]

The leadership of New York City's United Federation of Teachers called it "a stunning and historic vote" April 14, when the state legislature enacted the Stavisky bill over the veto of Gov. Hugh Carey.

UFT President Albert Shanker had mounted a frantic lobbying effort for the override. Teachers union officials cajoled, promised, and threatened. They summoned up every ounce of political strength they supposedly wield in Albany. And the Stavisky bill squeaked through. But is it really such a victory?

The bill ostensibly requires New York City to allocate the same proportion of its total budget to the board of education during the next three years as it did during the three years before the fiscal crisis.

In the first place, it has become clear that even the stated purpose of the Stavisky bill will never be implemented. The very day the bill was passed, its chief sponsor in the state senate, Roy Goodman, emphasized that it was only "a basis for future bargaining on the school-aid formula," according to the *New York Times*.

Goodman told the *Times*, "Stavisky and Shanker both pledged to me that they would redouble their efforts to work out a suitable compromise once the veto was overridden."

So the "historic victory" turns out to be nothing more than a basis for future bargaining and compromise. And one of the top bargainers is Mayor Abraham Beame, who is going to court to block implementation of any restoration of school funds, and who has already submitted a 1977 city budget specifying \$47 million in school cutbacks and 5,000 to 7,000 teacher layoffs.

But State Senator Goodman is already working on the "compromise." He told the *Times* he believes that "the Board of Education and the teachers' union would agree to productivity increases amounting to \$33.8 million in savings."

An increase in productivity means more work for

teachers with no increase in pay. That is exactly what has been happening all year without the Stavisky bill. What magicians these politicians and labor bureaucrats are! What they give with one hand they take away with the other.

The Stavisky bill does not provide one extra dime for social services in New York City. It does not challenge the budget cutbacks. It only says: Cut somewhere else. Lay off somebody else. Give money to the schools by taking it from the hospitals, or the day-care centers, or welfare.

This narrow-minded approach—begging for crumbs at the expense of other workers, trying to curry favor with the state authorities—has been the underlying strategy of the municipal union leaderships in New York from the start of the budget crisis. Carey, Beame, and the other politicians must be laughing up their sleeves at the result.

Other unions sent their own lobbyists to Albany to join Carey in fighting the Stavisky bill, on the grounds that it would mean cutbacks for their members. District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees warned the legislators "not to get enthralled to one union," meaning the UFT.

Presto! Suddenly, the Democratic and Republican politicians are no longer responsible for cutbacks—blame the teachers! Just as Shanker, rather than putting the blame on the capitalist politicians for cutting the budget, attacks other services for hogging too much of the shrinking pie. The unions wind up fighting each other instead of the real enemy.

Yes, the schools need more money. All social services need more money. It should come from the exorbitant federal war budget and the "welfare for the rich" bond payments made by city, state, and federal governments.

The only way we can bring about such a total change in priorities is to rally *all* the victims of the budget crisis to fight together against *all* layoffs and *all* cutbacks. And that is the opposite of the strategy embodied in the Stavisky bill.

Continued from page 10

Soviet Union to restore the good name of her husband, executed by Stalin in the 1930s.

"I ask Mr. Jackson to support the effort of the Rosenberg children to obtain the complete file."

Bert has obviously learned his journalistic "ethics" from his teachers in the Soviet Union. His mentors' concern for truth, accuracy, and integrity is nonexistent. Like them, his first priority is defending the narrow, counterrevolutionary interests of the privileged Kremlin bureaucracy.

N.E.  
New York, New York

### Group for prison reform

I am an inmate and chapter president of a new organization called Penal Action for Correctional Education.

The goals of PACE are to draw the attention of the public to the need for more and better penal reform both in prisons and in society after an inmate is released from prison.

PACE has published a magazine explaining in different articles how we can and must reform criminals and would-be offenders. These articles are written by lawyers, social workers, psychologists, various penal personnel, and inmates.

For a free copy of the magazine, write to PACE, Post Office Box 592, Berkeley, California 94710.

A prisoner  
Ohio

### On 'Kojak' and cops

I was disappointed to see the headline "In real life, New York cops aren't like Kojak" in the April 16 *Militant*. I totally agree with the article that the New York cops have been irresponsibly negligent in regard to the attempted assassination of Socialist Workers party candidate Catarino Garza and the harassment of other socialists. But I think that the attempt to contrast Kojak (the television good-guy cop-character) to New York cops was in bad taste.

The contrast between real-life cops and Kojak can be drawn only so far. True, the TV cop diligently investigates crime and invariably nails the crooks. But in every show I've seen, the TV criminals are Black and Puerto Rican and are brutally beaten before they are caught. This rings too true-to-life, where Blacks and Puerto Ricans are framed up and unjustly treated every day.

The TV show also idealizes the sexist attitudes of real-life cops. On the screen, Kojak does what most of the overwhelmingly male and white police force thinks about doing every day.

"Kojak" is only another attempt by the media to romanticize the racist, sexist, and anti-working-class police force. I think that the *Militant's* job should be to expose these cop shows for what they are, not promote them by comparing the TV cops favorably to the cops of real life.

A cop, is a cop, is a cop.

Ilona Gersh  
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



## Stop war on 'illegal aliens'!

[We are reprinting here for the information of *Militant* readers excerpts from an editorial broadcast by KWEX-TV, San Antonio. The editorial also reflects the opinion of the Spanish International Network, which has affiliates in New York, San Antonio, Miami, Fresno, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.]

[We] demand that those responsible for creating what clearly is a wave of hysteria over the "illegal alien" problem cease what must be regarded as the most alarmist and racist propaganda campaign ever conducted by a government entity, the INS.

The Hispanic-American communities have borne the brunt of this campaign for four years and now it is time to call a halt!

No more breaking into citizens' houses in the middle of the night. No more raiding churches during Sunday mass. No more stopping people on the streets for identification because they look Mexican or Latin American. No more hauling citizens to jail in dragnet sweeps because they look like illegal aliens.

INS officials are demanding an "all-out war" against the "illegals". We say it is a time for peace.

As such we call for an official investigation into the activities and policies of the INS so as to:

- Bring to a halt the service's long-standing harassment, defamation, and degradation of the Spanish-speaking people in this country.
- Bring to a halt the breaking and entering into homes in the middle of the night—without warrants!
- Enjoin the INS, its personnel, and union officials from the dissemination of racist and defamatory materials.

We accuse the INS of having converted the "undocumented alien" into the "illegal alien" for propaganda

purposes; of being the source and willing purveyor of defamatory material with which our press stories have tried to make "illegal alien" synonymous in the public mind with "criminals," "dope smugglers," "communists," and "job stealers."

We are faced today with a prospect of having forced upon us new repressive and restrictive immigration laws. We strongly oppose the Rodino bill and all other similar pieces of legislation which would make it a crime for an employer to knowingly hire an undocumented alien, or a crime for an undocumented alien to take work in this country. We oppose this type of legislation because it discriminates against Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and all citizens of Spanish heritage.

We propose that there are ways in which the government can provide for legal and orderly immigration into this country. As such we propose and support:

- Removing the ceiling on immigration from Western Hemisphere nations.
- The revision and reinstitution of temporary guestworker programs.
- The removal of the labor certification requirement for Western Hemisphere immigrants.
- That a congressman and senator of Spanish heritage hold seats on the Immigration subcommittees of their respective chambers.
- That a preference system for Western Hemisphere nations be instituted.
- That aliens from Western Hemisphere nations be allowed to adjust their visa status without leaving the country.
- That the president declare an amnesty for all undocumented aliens presently residing or working in the country.

# Should we march for ERA?

By Cindy Jaquith

The May 16 national march on Springfield, Illinois, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is picking up steam across the country.

ERA activists are seeking support for the demonstration in women's liberation groups, in unions, on the campuses, and in community groups.

In the process they are finding that a discussion is continuing over the best way to build the pro-ERA movement: What strategy is most effective?

A sample of the discussion goes like this:

\* \* \*

*Margaret.* Last night my union voted to support the May 16 ERA demonstration called by the National Organization for Women (NOW). We're going to organize car pools of people to go to Springfield.

*Sue.* Well, it's good your union supports the ERA. But I'm not sure this demonstration is going to help matters much. In fact, I think it could do more harm than good.

*Margaret.* Why do you say that?

*Sue.* We need four more states to ratify the ERA by 1979, right? That gives us three years. The problem with this demonstration is that if we start making a lot of noise now, that will stir up the right-wing STOP ERA people.

*Margaret.* The right wing is *already* agitated. They've been on the offensive—not us—and that's how they've blocked ratification in several states and gotten the ERA rescinded in others.

The fact is that this reactionary minority has been more visible than the pro-ERA majority. The issue has been forced on their terms.

We can't defeat these people by sticking our heads in the sand and hoping they'll go away. We need to answer their lies and distortions about the ERA, and one of the most effective ways to do that is through a massive, dramatic show of support for the ERA in Springfield on May 16.

*Sue.* But a big attention-grabbing action could really ruin things for states that have already ratified, where the right wing has been quiet so far.

*Margaret.* The ERA does no one any good in any state until it's been ratified nationally. The right wing is organizing against the ERA on a national scale. We have to countermobilize by building a national pro-ERA movement, uniting supporters from every state. A big demonstration in Illinois will not only help women there, but will boost the ERA drive in other unratified states.

Don't forget, *we* are the majority—not Phyllis Schlafly and her STOP ERA crowd. We've got to make that point loud and clear on May 16.

*Sue.* Well, if the pro-ERA people are the majority, why did New York and New Jersey voters defeat their state referenda on the ERA last fall?

*Margaret.* The ERA lost because the pro-ERA groups didn't get out and mobilize the sentiment for the ERA. All the polls predicted that the ERA would win in both states. But what happened is that the anti-ERA forces went on a big publicity campaign. They succeeded in confusing people about what the ERA would really do.

There was no visible pro-ERA movement to explain how the ERA would benefit women workers, Black women, housewives, and others. There was no effort to mobilize our supporters to get out and vote "yes" on the ERA.

That's a good example of what happens if you try to win the ERA by keeping quiet about it.

*Sue.* Well, to be perfectly frank with you, I'm not sure we can win against the STOP ERA people. They've got money, organization, and a slick operation.

*Margaret.* If we take that approach, we might as well forget about ever changing women's status in this society.

Look at how the antiwar movement in this country forced the U.S. government to withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

The antiwar movement started out as a small minority, up against the most powerful government in the world. Yet it grew to represent the vast majority of Americans. Millions of people joined the peace demonstrations in this country.

Those actions had a direct impact on Congress and the White House. The politicians saw a massive movement against their policies, a movement they did not control, that was growing bigger and bigger every day the war continued. This movement became such a threat to the Democrats and Republicans that they decided it was better to pull out of the war than risk escalating social unrest at home.

The ERA fight is occurring in a new period—new for the women's liberation struggle and for all social struggles. Working people are beginning to radicalize, and this is especially clear with working women, who are beginning to demand that their unions defend equal rights.

Look at May 16. The Coalition of Labor Union Women, the United Auto Workers, and many other labor organizations have endorsed the action and are sending buses of unionists to Springfield.

The labor movement has tremendous social power in this country.

Imagine if the unions took the lead in this struggle, mobilizing tens of thousands of workers to demand ratification of the ERA.

Not only could such a movement win the ERA, it could advance the women's struggle by its very existence—inspiring millions to rally to the cause of equal rights.

*Sue.* It's true that demonstrations helped in stopping the war.

But with the ERA, we're already so close. I've heard people say that only about eighteen legislators stand between us and final ratification.

Wouldn't it make more sense to put all our energies into lobbying with these legislators?

*Margaret.* Women have been lobbying for the ERA since 1923!

What finally forced Congress to pass the amendment in 1972 was not lobbying, but the emergence of a militant women's liberation movement that the Democrats and Republicans could not ignore. It was the *power* of that movement—and its potential to reach deeply into all sectors of the population—that made the politicians decide they'd better vote for the ERA.

The strategy of just relying on lobbying to get the ERA ratified has been the chief *obstacle* in this fight.

Lobbying is based on the idea that to win your demand you simply have to convince the legislators, on a one-to-one basis, that your demand is just. But capitalist politicians aren't swayed on moral or rational grounds. What convinces them is seeing a political movement, representing the aspirations of millions of people, that is independent and beyond their control.

That kind of a movement must be out in the streets, where it is visible, in massive numbers—not hidden away in the offices of state legislators.

You see, lobbying points our attention in the wrong direction—toward a few politicians, instead of toward the masses of people we need to convince on this issue and involve in action. Those people have no role to play in lobbying—they are simply told to remain spectators.

*Sue.* Don't you think there's a danger that if May 16 is really big we'll turn off some legislators?

*Margaret.* If our starting point is how to please the legislators, we'll never win the ERA.

The Democrats and Republicans have been telling women for the last four years, "Keep cool, don't step on anyone's toes, don't make too much noise—let us take care of the ERA." And what has it gotten us?

The STOP ERA people have had a monopoly on the issue and the ERA has gone down in defeat in state after state.

*Sue.* Well, maybe if we concentrate on getting the worst incumbents out of office this round, then in 1977 we have a better chance of ratification.

*Margaret.* We can't rely on the election promises of the Democrats and Republicans.

Our power lies in our numbers, in mobilizing thousands of people on marches and picket lines, at speak-outs and debates, to demand equal rights for women. The ERA struggle must remain independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

Our strategy must be to force concessions from these politicians by putting them on the spot.

May 16 can be the beginning of a drive to do just that. Thousands of marchers demanding "Ratify the ERA!" in Springfield will be heard across the country, inspiring many more to join us in this fight.



Militant/Suzanne Welch



## Fight Mich. right-wing drive

# Unions, Blacks, students mobilize for ERA

By Mary Jo Vogel

DETROIT—The Equal Rights Amendment has become a heated issue in Michigan, a state that has already ratified the amendment.

On March 1 anti-ERA forces introduced in the state legislature a bill to rescind ratification of the ERA. This move sparked ERA supporters to begin mobilizing to stop this attack on women's rights.

The first response was a March 6 teach-in sponsored by the Committee to Defend the ERA (CoDERA). This event featured speakers from the National Organization for Women (NOW), Coalition of Labor Union

now jointly called a statewide picket line on the capitol steps in Lansing for May 8. Picketers will be coming from Detroit, Ann Arbor, Lansing, and other cities to demand that legislators reject the move to rescind the amendment.

Right-wing forces are also stepping up their campaign against the ERA. One ploy used by Elaine Donnelly, chairwoman of STOP ERA in Michigan, is to assert that the union movement opposes the ERA and that the amendment would be detrimental to Black women.

The labor movement, however, has already taken some firm steps to demonstrate its pro-ERA stand.

- Wayne County CLUW is organizing a May 11 meeting, "Labor Defends ERA Ratification," which will be addressed by union officials from the United Auto Workers; Michigan Education Association; Service Employees International Union; American Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Metro-Detroit AFL-CIO; and CLUW.

- The UAW has donated \$2,000 to NOW to help with May 16 transportation costs.

- Michigan Federation of Teachers Local 2000 has endorsed the May 16 march.

- Michigan CLUW Vice-president Ann Shafer has sent letters to CLUW chapters throughout the state encouraging them to participate in May 16.

- Kalamazoo and Washtenaw County CLUW chapters are each planning to send a bus to Springfield.

- The Huron Valley Central Labor Council has endorsed May 16 and donated \$200 to help build the action.

Trade-union and Black task forces in CoDERA are seeking endorsements and organizing publicity among their constituencies.

The Detroit NAACP and Rep. John Conyers have added their names to the supporters of the national march. During the weekend of April 23, ERA

activists distributed May 16 information to the more than 2,000 participants at a meeting of the Women's Conference of Concerns, a Detroit-based Black women's organization.

Many ERA activists have come from the colleges and high schools. In Detroit, chapters of CoDERA at Wayne State University and Cass Technical High School are building the national demonstration and the May 8 picket line. The new Cass Tech chapter has already signed up twenty students to work on the demonstrations.

A CoDERA representative travels to other area campuses to help initiate ERA action committees or work with existing women's liberation groups. This has led to setting up ERA debates at the University of Detroit, a Catholic school, and the two campuses of Macomb County Community College.

A May 16 coordinating committee has also been set up in the Detroit area. Attending its first meeting were representatives from NOW, CoDERA, Michigan Education Association Women's Caucus, Council on Family Law Reform, Highland Park Community College, Michigan Federation of Teachers Local 2000, the Socialist Workers party, Consumer Alliance of Michigan, and Warren Education Association.

At the meeting Rosalie Sullivan, statewide May 16 coordinator for NOW, gave a progress report on the action. Then participants exchanged ideas on how to mobilize members of their organizations for the march. Suggestions included: placing information about the march in newsletters; selling bus tickets and raising money to subsidize members to go on the buses; and setting up ERA committees within their organizations.

ERA activists in Michigan see organizing for May 16 as a new beginning for the ERA movement. As CoDERA campus traveler Marty Pettit told the *Militant*, "With new people and organizations coming into the movement, we can be on call to mobilize against the recision campaign



South End/Millard Berry

Joe Madison, Detroit NAACP executive director, addressing March 6 teach-in. Peg Russel, president of Washtenaw County CLUW, is seated left.

here and we expect to participate in more national efforts to win the ERA. After all, our job is to make sure the ERA is ratified in all thirty-eight states needed to become law."

## Candidates back May 16

Three presidential candidates have announced their support for the May 16 national ERA march: Democratic hopefuls Morris Udall and Jimmy Carter and Socialist Workers party candidate Peter Camejo. All three candidates sent statements of support to an April 22 Atlanta news conference organized by Georgians for the ERA to publicize the march on Springfield, Illinois, called by the National Organization for Women.

Women (CLUW), NAACP, and American Civil Liberties Union.

The meeting turned into a spirited rally of more than 100 people. Speakers urged a big mobilization for the May 16 national ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, as one of the best ways to oppose the recision bill in Michigan and push forward national ERA ratification. Sixty people at the meeting immediately signed up to go to Springfield.

The Michigan State University Women's Council and CoDERA have

## Chicago Blacks join nat'l march

# 'If anyone needs the ERA, it's Black women!'

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—"If anyone needs the Equal Rights Amendment, it's Black women," stated Brenda Eichelberger, head of the Chicago chapter of the National Alliance of Black Feminists.

She was speaking to a predominantly Black and Latina audience at an April 13 Loop Junior College meeting sponsored by AWARA (Aware Women for the ERA).

"Some people unfortunately have the feeling that the Black woman has always been liberated. . . . That Black women don't need the ERA," Eichelberger said.

"Well, for those of you who say she's always been liberated, I say: Yes, the Black woman has always been liberated to do backbreaking plantation work no slaveholder would ever consider doing; to be raped and otherwise sexually abused by her master; to work outside the home on a full-time job and then return to her own home to work a second full-time shift; to discover after decades of mindless domestic work that she is not entitled to Social Security benefits; to make less money than white men, Black men, and white women; to have a mass-media image of 'pancake box Jemima,' 'grinning Beu-

lah,' 'castrating Sapphire,' or 'sexually insatiable superchick.'"

"So for those of you who still say the Black woman has been liberated, I ask, to what other kind of liberation do you refer?"

More Black and women's organizations are recognizing the double jeopardy of being Black and female in this

society. Eichelberger announced that the recent convention of the National Association of Black Women Attorneys pledged to support the ERA. Also, the Chicago chapter of the National Council of Negro Women has endorsed the May 16 national ERA march.

Another reason why Black women are turning toward the ERA struggle is

that they see in the anti-ERA movement the same forces that are fighting against Black rights.

Betsey Harkens of the Circle Campus Women's Liberation Union also spoke and explained that "the more sophisticated organizations like Total Woman and STOP ERA masquerade as pro-woman organizations that oppose the ERA because it is not the best vehicle for women to achieve equal rights. They do this to confuse the issue.

"It's the same thing they do with busing," she continued. "They say 'Oh, we think Black children deserve a decent education. We don't oppose busing because we're racists. It's just that we think busing isn't necessary.' And then, these so-called nonracists viciously attack Black people in Boston."

"Black women have an oppression that is different than Black men and white women," Eichelberger explained, summing up the importance of Black women organizing themselves to participate in the women's and Black rights struggles. Sojourner Truth spoke out for the freedom of the slaves as well as for the rights of women, Eichelberger said, and Black women today are doing the same thing.

## UAW will be in Springfield

Illinois auto workers will be marching for women's equality on May 16. Robert Johnston, director of United Auto Workers Region 4, sent a letter to all Illinois UAW locals urging their participation in this historic march. His letter reads in part:

"Since Illinois is one of the last few States that has not passed an ERA law, proponents for the law will be coming to Springfield from all over the United States. Since Springfield is the capital of Illinois and we are in the midst of the fight for an ERA law, we are asking all local unions in Region 4 UAW

(Illinois) to have participants at this rally on May 16th. We would appreciate it if you could send a substantial delegation. . . .

"There are various women coalitions throughout the State of Illinois and Iowa outside of UAW that will be participating in this march and rally. However, since UAW is supporting the ERA in its entirety, we would like to have maximum participation from our own union if at all possible. We suggest the cheapest transportation possible to the rally site in Springfield in the form of cars, buses, etc. Let's see if we can try to pull Illinois out of the last few States that are resisting ERA."

## Cops produce phony photos

# Dismissal denied as J.B. Johnson trial begins

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—Another motion for dismissal of the case against J.B. Johnson, a twenty-six-year-old Black victim of a racist frame-up, was filed here April 26 by Johnson's attorney William Kunstler. The request was based on shocking new evidence of misconduct by government prosecutors.

The motion came on the opening day of Johnson's second trial on charges of being an accomplice in the 1970 shooting of a white policeman during a robbery of a jewelry store.

On Friday, April 23, the latest in a campaign of dirty tricks aimed at framing Johnson came to light. Prosecutor Courtney Goodman and his assistant, Thomas Dittmeier, produced two photographs never before shown

the defense during the six years since charges were first filed.

The photos are a crude attempt to resolve a contradiction in the prosecution's case during Johnson's first trial, held in September 1972. At that time, the prosecution was never able to explain how two rings mysteriously "missing" from a police evidence tray matched two rings the police later claimed they found in Johnson's shoe. The tray, originally containing seven rings, had been photographed before Johnson's arrest.

The prosecution admitted to the Missouri Supreme Court that this contradiction "cannot be explained from the record." In July 1975 the court reversed Johnson's earlier conviction and ordered a new trial.

Now, after six years, Goodman and

Dittmeier have suddenly produced new photos purporting to solve the mystery. The original photograph, according to the new version, was in fact taken after Johnson's arrest.

This photo was made available only after Herbert MacDonnel, a noted physical evidence expert, had left St. Louis after flying here from New York to study the details of the case.

The National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson has branded these photographs a "total fabrication of evidence." The prosecution is "using the dirtiest tricks imaginable to save face," the committee said.

Further evidence of this was disclosed when police revealed they had destroyed all the original fingerprint evidence taken at the scene of the January 1970 robbery-shooting.

Despite all this, the motion for dismissal was summarily denied by Judge William Corrigan. Corrigan also denied five other motions put forward by Johnson's attorneys. Among these was a motion to disqualify the judge on the grounds of his bias against Johnson.

The judge also refused to grant Johnson pauper status, which means that the court will not assume certain of his legal expenses. Corrigan demanded to see the financial records of Johnson's defense committee before deciding whether Johnson can be tried in pauper status.

Finally, Corrigan did agree to defense proposals that prospective jurors be interviewed one at a time by attorneys in the case. He refused, however, to double the number of peremptory challenges. This motion was made in view of police attempts to stir up a "law and order" campaign to help ensure Johnson's conviction.

An indication of the frame-up hysteria surrounding this case is the fact that those attending the trial were forced to undergo a complete search of their bags and clothing. They were also screened by a metal detector before entering the courtroom. This is

## Camejo, Reid: 'Free J.B.!'

[The following telegram was sent by Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid to J.B. Johnson.]

On the eve of your new trial we stand by you and join thousands of your supporters in demanding your freedom. From St. Louis and Boston to Louisville and New Orleans, racists are boldly attacking Black people's rights to equality, liberty, and often life itself. Your stubborn six-year battle for justice and the victories you have won along the way are an inspiration to others. They are proof that even the most determined racists can be beaten back.

Yet like Rubin "Hurricane" Carter your struggle is not over. But we are confident that this new trial is a last desperate act by St. Louis cops and courts. We will go on demanding that all charges against you immediately be dropped. Free J.B. Johnson!

an unusual procedure in the St. Louis County courts.

As the trial goes into jury selection—which is expected to last about a week—the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson is seeking to ensure that he is tried by a jury of his peers, not by an all-white jury.

Activists in Johnson's defense held a spirited picket line outside the courthouse the day the trial opened. They chanted, "No all-white jury, second time around; there are lots of Black people in this town."

For more information or to help on the case, contact: National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson, Post Office Box 4713, St. Louis, Missouri 63108. Telephone: (314) 725-0319.



J.B. Johnson and his mother, Mary Watkins, at St. Louis rally of 800 last February held to demand his release.

## Sub drive right on target

# Steelworkers like Militant's union coverage

By Pat Galligan

The *Militant's* spring subscription drive is exactly on schedule, with 3,073 subscriptions toward our goal of 5,500 already received.

Sales of the April 23 *Militant* (headline: "Stop racist drive—all out April 24!") totaled 5,300 in the cities reporting on sales for the sixth week of the sales campaign.

\* \* \*

Pittsburgh, California, like its namesake back east, is a steel town.

A *Militant* sales team from Berkeley first visited the U.S. Steel plant in Pittsburgh because of the February 20 *Militant's* feature "Sadlowski: Challenge in Steel." (Ed Sadlowski was recently elected director of United Steelworkers District 31, in a defeat for the bureaucratic machine of International President I.W. Abel.)

But it seemed that the forty-five-minute drive had been in vain. Guards prevented them from selling in the parking lot that surrounds the plant. Undaunted, the socialists stood in the street and sold to the workers as they drove out.

The response that day—and on eight Wednesdays since then—has provided plenty of encouragement to keep making the trip each week.

In addition to selling the *Militant*, the team also distributes the Socialist

Workers party 1976 campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," in both English and Spanish.

Sales have ranged from ten (one rainy day) to thirty-two copies, according to Mary Lou Montauk. "Since they are passing in their cars, we can't really talk to the workers very much," she said.

Despite the obstacles, it looks like a regular clientele is already forming. "Some workers' now have their quarters ready when they drive out."

Baltimore socialists have also been selling the *Militant* to steelworkers.

On Saturdays, a team goes door to door in a working-class neighborhood populated largely by steelworkers.

Richard Hill, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Maryland, takes part in these weekly sales. He estimates that 200 single copies and twenty-two subscriptions have been sold there in the past two months.

We asked what workers thought about the *Militant's* coverage of Sadlowski's challenge to the Abel bureaucracy.

"Sadlowski is not well known," he said. "But there is general opposition to the ENA (no-strike pact) and interest in a campaign for union democracy," Hill continued. "If Sadlowski's material were distributed within the union, I think people would be more open to discussing these issues."

Hill notes that more people buy the

*Militant* to follow developments in Boston. "The *Militant* provides the first substantial information on the desegregation battle there. People appreciate this—especially the prominence of the coverage."

We know one Young Socialist Alliance member who would certainly concur with Hill's assessment of interest in the situation in Boston. Dean

Athans reports from Cincinnati that a member of the chapter there sold six subscriptions to co-workers. They were shocked by the April 16 *Militant's* big front-page picture of a white racist assaulting a Black man with the pole of an American flag.

These six subscriptions pushed Cincinnati to the number two spot on the scoreboard.

## Subscription scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sent in	%			
Cleveland	175	86	49			
Seattle	175	85	49			
New Orleans	100	48	48			
San Diego	150	70	47			
Los Angeles	350	140	40			
Indianapolis	25	10	40			
Berkeley, Calif.	125	46	37			
Boston	250	91	36			
Milwaukee	150	53	35			
San Antonio	30	10	33			
Logan, Utah	15	5	33			
East Lansing, Mich.	10	3	30			
Atlanta	225	66	29			
Champaign, Ill.	10	2	20			
Detroit	200	38	19			
Dallas	25	4	16			
San Jose	80	11	14			
Chicago	275	33	12			
San Francisco	225	25	11			
State College, Pa.	20	2	10			
Denver	150	11	7			
General		139				
YSA Teams	1,900	708	37			
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,500</b>	<b>3,073</b>	<b>56</b>			
Should have	5,500	3,070	56			
Minneapolis	180	99	55			
Washington, D.C., Area	220	118	54			
Oakland, Calif.	100	54	54			
Newark	100	52	52			
Bloomington, Ind.	50	26	52			
Albany, N.Y.	10	5	50			
Kansas City, Mo.	10	5	50			



## The case of 'Morris Moonsky'

# Socialist prof target of army war game

By Arnold Weissberg

PHOENIX, Ariz.—At the top and bottom of the document is written "For Official Use Only." Inside, the following events are described:

It is April 1, 1970. Campus radicals here have organized a huge rock festival attended by 100,000 students.

At the same time, Chicanos in Tucson begin rioting. A Black man is shot by the cops.

And at Arizona State University (ASU) in Tempe, radicals have delivered a list of nonnegotiable demands to the presidents of the three state universities.

The rock concert, which began peacefully, suddenly breaks up, with thousands of students and other young people heading for the campuses to join the protests.

And in the middle of everything is "Prof. Morris Moonsky" of the ASU political science department.

\* \* \*

This Arizona uprising never took place. It was invented as part of an army war game called "Cable Splicer III," organized in April 1970 by the Arizona National Guard. Other Cable Splicer exercises—trial runs for quashing campus protests—were held in several other states about the same time.

The "Professor Moonsky" in Cable Splicer III is obviously modeled after Dr. Morris Starsky, an ASU philosophy professor at that time. Just a few months later, Starsky was fired from ASU because of his antiwar and

socialist views.

The publication of the Cable Splicer exercises in *New Times*, an Arizona weekly, bolsters Starsky's contention that he was the victim of a witch-hunting conspiracy whose participants ranged from the FBI to the Arizona State Board of Regents.

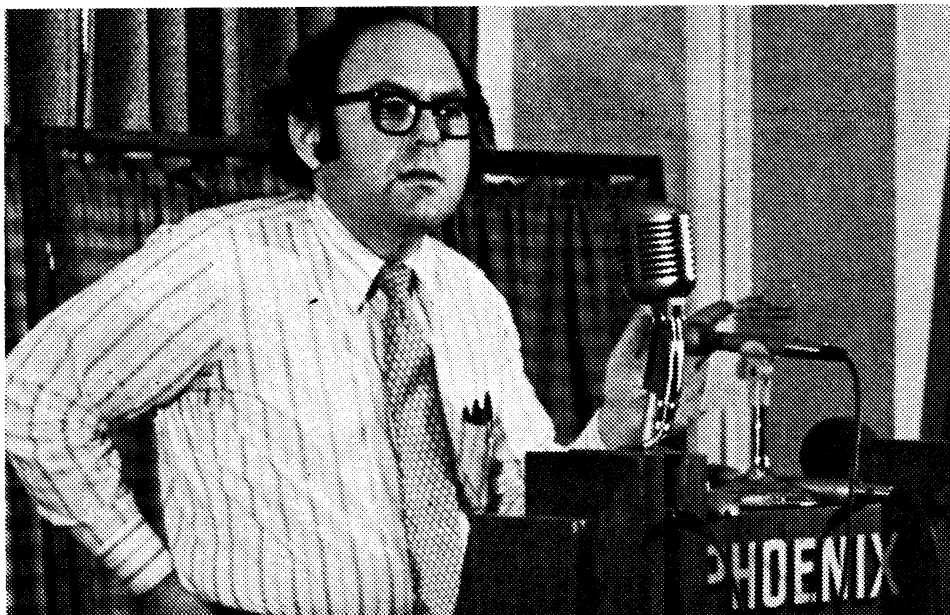
Starsky's lawsuit demanding reinstatement at ASU has already unearthed evidence that he was a frequent victim of government dirty tricks. His defense effort has garnered broad national support, including backing from the American Association of University Professors.

Starsky has won two favorable verdicts in federal court. But the regents are still using every possible legal maneuver to avoid reinstating him.

Last year the FBI was forced to admit it had sent an anonymous letter to the regents urging them to fire Starsky. Starsky's attorney, Alan Kymman, has since won the release of further documents from the CIA, from Army Intelligence, and from ASU itself.

The CIA, supposedly barred from spying on U.S. citizens on American soil, turned over four heavily censored pages. One document, a list of Phoenix-area antiwar activists, notes, "Those marked with asterisks are believed to be ideologically [sic] hard core types. Others are willing collaborators." The only name not censored on the sheet is Starsky's—preceded by an asterisk.

Another CIA memo describes the Arizona campaign tour of Paul Bou-



Militant/Harry Ring

Morris Starsky was fired from post at Arizona State University for antiwar, socialist views. Documents show army intelligence, FBI, CIA, and ASU administration spied and plotted against him.

## Baltimore publishers open antiunion drive

By Ralph Braden

BALTIMORE—The printing-trades unions in Baltimore are now up against the same concerted union-busting drive as their sister unions in Washington, D.C.

In negotiations with press operators Local 31, the *Baltimore Sun* and *News American* have put forward—on a take-it-or-leave-it basis—basically the same demands that forced *Washington Post* press operators out on strike last October.

The Baltimore newspaper owners have been emboldened in their intransigent stand by the defeat of the *Post* strikers, who were fired and replaced with permanent scabs. All the other craft unions at the *Post* have returned to work and are crossing the press operators' picket lines.

In Baltimore as in Washington, management's major demand is for a sharp reduction in staffing requirements.

A newspaper press is made up of several mechanical units. The number of units employed in a press run and

a. Arizona.

(1) General. The situation was based on the assumption that a "rock festival" had attracted thousands of young people to a central location in the state. Dissidents gained control of the group and precipitated violent disorders in the three state universities and respective cities. Disturbances escalated to the point where City, County, and State Department of Public Safety personnel were unable to control the situation. The Governor, in response to request from the Mayor of each city, proclaimed a state of emergency and ordered mobilization of the National Guard for state active duty. The situation in the Phoenix area deteriorated to the point that federal troops were employed at the request of the Governor. The exercise commenced with all units having been alerted three hours previously. Approximately 80% of the command had been assembled. Each task force operated in an assigned city of primary responsibility in which the simulated events took place as follows: University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona State University, Tempe-Phoenix, and Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.

(2) Conduct of the Exercise. The exercise was conducted in four phases as indicated below:

(a) Phase I (Feb.-4 April 1970)(Exercise Time). During this phase the initial simulated buildup of defiance occurred in the three universities, the staging of a massive rock festival, and enumeration of student demands. These incidents caused the Governor to issue gubernatorial proclamations and to mobilize the National Guard for state active duty.

(b) Phase II (0800-1000, 4 April 1970)(Actual Time). During this phase simultaneous orientations in Phoenix, Tucson, and Flagstaff for all

9

**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

New Times

Part of Sixth U.S. Army Final Report on 'Cable Splicer III.' Involved in fictional insurrection was 'Prof. Morris Moonsky,' obviously modeled on Dr. Morris Starsky.

telle, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate in 1968. Starsky accompanied Boutelle during the tour.

Starsky's name also crops up in "Daily Intelligence Summary Number 8327" of U.S. Army Intelligence. The memo claims that Starsky masterminded a campus struggle in November 1968 to force ASU to cancel its contract with a nonunion laundry. Chicano laundry workers were in the midst of an organizing drive at the time.

Starsky told the *Militant* the charge is ridiculous. "It was the Chicano students who organized and led the whole struggle," he said. "It's typically racist of the army to assume that Chicanos couldn't organize a struggle on their own."

When the ASU administration fired Starsky in 1970, one of the drummed-up charges against him was that he had sought to incite violence during a demonstration of 2,000 students to support the laundry workers.

The incident raises some interesting questions. How many other union organizing drives does the army spy on? Does it spy on the United Farm Workers? And why was Starsky under army surveillance at all?

Another document, obtained from ASU itself, reveals how low the administration was willing to stoop to rid the campus of a professor whose ideas they didn't like. The two-page, sloppily typed memorandum contains a detailed biography of Starsky and a rundown of his political activities. It is not signed, dated, or addressed to anyone.

"Discreditation of Starsky must be subtly handled and must appear to come from within the ranks of the young people he reaches," the memo said.

"SUGGESTION: Young people have great faith and believe the material that appears [sic] in the Undergorund [sic] newspapers. The ASU members of the movement really want a local [sic] paper but have been unsuccessful in securing funds to operate it. Should they receive funds from a source appearing to be reliable to them a paper could be instituted in this area. Proper, discrete [sic] control could utilize this newspaper to subtly discredit Starsky with his followers."

The ASU has had no comment on who wrote this scandalous memo, who read it, or what it was doing in Starsky's file.

the number of workers needed to operate them depend on the total page count of the issue and whether color reproduction is called for.

Management demands a 50 to 60 percent reduction in the staff working the press units. They claim the present level of staffing, which has been in force for twenty years, is excessive for today's more advanced equipment.

Company negotiators say the *Sunpapers* are being "driven to the poor house" by "feather-bedding," but they refuse to open the firm's books for the union to examine.

In the past it was cheaper for the paper to pay overtime than hire additional press operators. As a result, a big part of the average press operator's income—some \$3,400 a year—now depends on overtime. Management's demands would eliminate most overtime and cut the yearly income of press operators by 30 percent.

In return for this drastic wage cut, all the publishers are offering is a \$60-a-week wage increase for journeymen press operators, spread out over three

years. Journeymen now make \$261 a week. Paperhandlers, apprentices, and junior press operators would receive less.

A no-layoff guarantee is included for most members of the union. But the publisher wants the right to dismiss forty-one junior press operators—20 percent of the union's total membership.

On February 29 the press operators union decided not to vote on this "final offer." Union officials said they would make counterproposals. These have revolved around asking management to "buy out" some of the staffing provisions.

This proposal is not unprecedented. The Baltimore Typographical Union had a number of points bought out of their contract, paving the way for the *Sunpapers'* computerized newsrooms.

The only response from company negotiators has been to review once again how the union was locked out in Kansas City, Miami, and the *Washington Post*.

## Reid in San Diego

# 'Dems, GOP encourage racist thugs'

By Joseph Ryan

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—“A campaign supporter remarked to me today that the whole world seems to be in an uproar,” Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid told an audience here April 9. “And he was right.”

“From the struggles of the oppressed people all around the world, to the struggles of the Chicano community right here in National City, one thing is very clear: people are beginning to fight back against the injustices they face every day.”

Reid was the featured speaker at a socialist campaign rally held in this city, located just south of San Diego. National City has a population of 40,000, more than 40 percent of whom are Chicano or *mexicano*.

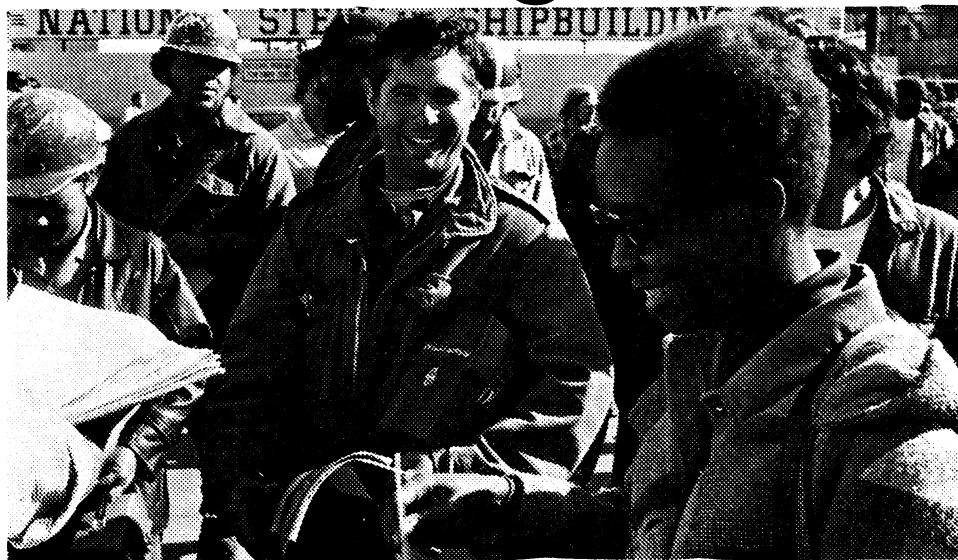
The Chicano community here, under the leadership of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, has been involved in a campaign to recall the mayor and city council because of their inaction in response to a police killing of a Puerto Rican youth last October. Twenty-year-old Luis “Tato” Rivera was shot down in cold blood by National City police officer Craig Short.

Rivera was one of six victims of the trigger-happy National City cops during the past three years.

Reid compared the officially sanctioned violence facing Chicanos in National City to the anti-Black terror occurring in Boston.

“In Boston, just like here,” Reid said, “it is the Democratic and Republican party politicians who provide protection and encouragement to racist thugs.”

To halt these attacks, Reid said, it is necessary to mobilize time and again in public displays of solidarity with the Black and Chicano communities. At a meeting at San Diego City College earlier in the week, Reid told more than 100 students, predominantly Blacks, “What we need is to show



During San Diego tour, Reid campaigned at National Steel and Shipbuilding Company.

these racists in Boston and everywhere else—including the White House—that the Black community in Boston does not stand alone.”

Don Sorsa, SWP candidate in the Forty-second Congressional District (which includes a large section of National City), also addressed the rally. Sorsa, an active participant in the National City recall campaign, explained some of the lessons and accomplishments of the struggle.

“Although the city officials deny it,” Sorsa said, “the chief of police here was forced to retire because of the outcry against the Rivera shooting. The killer-cop was identified and prosecuted, although the trial was a sham and the murderer was acquitted. And we also exposed the collusion of city officials, the city attorney, and the FBI in attempting to defeat the recall effort.”

“But the most important thing,” Sorsa stressed, “is that the Chicano community stood up in an organized way and said ‘Enough!’”

The events in National City, he said, drive home the need for an independent Chicano political party. “Such a party would work in the community every day to organize, educate, and fight for the rights of Chicanos. It would take those struggles into the polling places on election day.”

Gloria Cueva, a Chicana student at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD) who recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance, also spoke at the rally. Greetings were read from the Dennis Banks Defense Committee and San Diegans for the Equal Rights Amendment.

During Reid’s stay in San Diego, she spoke to a meeting of 150 at UCSD and campaigned at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company, which employs more than 5,000 workers.

Reid also attended an evening women’s reception at the home of a campaign supporter. She encouraged the women to become active in San Diegans for the ERA and pointed to the importance of the May 16 pro-ERA march and rally in Springfield, Illinois, called by the National Organization for Women.

Everywhere Reid spoke, she generated support and enthusiasm. During the tour, five people signed up to join the SWP. After Reid’s speech to an evening session at San Diego City College, a Black worker who attended the meeting remarked, “I haven’t voted in over ten years, but I’ll take the trouble to vote for her.”

## Reid hits Calif. ballot law

While campaigning in San Diego, Willie Mae Reid appeared at a news conference called by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). The news conference was organized to protest California’s restrictive ballot laws.

Also appearing at the news conference were Mel Crane, chairperson of the Democratic party’s central committee in San Diego; Mateo Camarillo of the Chicano Federation; and a member of the Libertarian party.

A three-judge panel is currently

considering a lawsuit filed by CoDEL challenging a California requirement forcing third-party candidates to collect 640,000 signatures from registered voters to achieve ballot status. Democrats and Republicans need only 65 signatures.

A law passed recently in the California legislature substantially lowers petitioning requirements for independent candidates, but it does not apply to candidates who want to run under a party designation.

# Camejo explains Carter’s ‘slip of the tongue’

By Barry David

PHILADELPHIA—All of the Democratic and Republican party presidential contenders have been campaigning hard here during the last few weeks before the April 27 presidential primary. And each one of them has been put on the spot about their reaction to Jimmy Carter’s “slip of the tongue” about ethnic purity.

Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo has been campaigning here too. And at every speaking engagement, Camejo took the time to explain the real meaning of Carter’s “slip.”

At an April 4 campaign meeting in

the Germantown section of Philadelphia, Camejo explained to nearly 100 of his supporters that the new rise of racism is consciously fostered by the capitalist rulers of this country and by their politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties.

“None of the candidates will do anything to show they mean it when they say they are for open housing. They go through the verbal motions, but the racists in this country know the code words.”

“If you say, ‘I’m for open housing, but I’m against government interference,’ the racists know what you really mean,” Camejo said.

“They get the signal. ‘We can kick them out of our neighborhoods then,’ they say to each other. ‘We can throw bombs at their homes. We can shoot at them and beat them up, like we do in Boston, and Chicago, and Philadelphia.’”

“‘We can do all that,’ they say to Jimmy and Morris and Henry, ‘and we know that you won’t stop us.’”

Both Udall and Jackson have admitted that their positions on segregated housing are identical to Carter’s. Camejo pointed out.

“All the newspapers are still trying ‘to figure out’ what Carter meant,” Camejo said. “Let’s stop the games. Everybody knows what ‘ethnic purity’ means. It means no Black, no Puerto Rican moves in next door. It’s just that simple.”

“The reason that the candidates are embarrassed about it is because it was too much to the point,” Camejo added. “Did Jimmy slip? Yes he slipped! He said what he really meant! He took a

position!”

Also speaking at the Germantown rally were Tony Austin and Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidates in the first and second congressional districts. Nada Chandler, president of the Philadelphia National Organization for Women, brought greetings to the meeting and urged everyone to participate in the May 16 national demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Fraenzl explained that the Philadelphia SWP will soon open two new campaign headquarters, one in Germantown and one in West Philadelphia. Both areas are predominantly Black sections of the city.

Camejo also campaigned at an unemployment center serving North Philadelphia’s Black and Puerto Rican communities. Jobless Puerto Rican workers discussed their problems with Camejo, who is bilingual. They were eager to read the Spanish language

edition of the “Bill of Rights for Working People,” Camejo’s campaign platform.

A campus meeting for Camejo drew 60 people at the University of Pennsylvania. Almost 200 attended an outdoor rally at Temple University. After the rally more than 30 students came to a meeting to discuss how they could help out the SWP campaign.

Both the Philadelphia *Daily News* and the *Inquirer* ran major stories on Camejo’s tour. The *Washington Post* covered the Germantown rally, and the following day it featured an article on Camejo as part of its “Campaign ’76” series.

Post staff writer Myra MacPherson wrote, “[Camejo] is predicting that today’s economic problems and voter disillusionment will give the party its biggest boost since the long-ago days when Eugene V. Debs, in a prison cell collected nearly a million votes in 1920.”



Militant/Jon Flanders

CAMEJO: Unwilling to let Carter off hook.

## Join the socialist campaign

☐ Send me a free copy of the campaign platform, “A Bill of rights for Working People” in English ☐ in Spanish ☐.

☐ I want to attend a campaign meeting to help plan activities.

☐ I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

Contact the campaign headquarters nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 30), or clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Business Address \_\_\_\_\_

School/union local \_\_\_\_\_

Chairperson, Fred Halstead; Treasurer, Arthur Hughes.



## Plan to be on November ballot

# Texas socialists launch petitioning drive

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—There is something about the Socialist Workers party that just doesn't sit right with government agencies here in Texas.

Practically every one of them—from the Texas secretary of state's office to the FBI—has had its hands full trying to block SWP election campaigns and other activities.

Their lack of success is shown by the recent opening of two new party branches in Dallas and San Antonio. In addition, there are now three socialist campaign headquarters in Houston alone.

A look at what Texas socialists have been doing over the past several years helps account for their lack of popularity with the government—and with the local Ku Klux Klan.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock  
Texas voter signs up to place SWP on ballot for November 1974 election.

Since the early 1970s, the SWP has run vigorous election campaigns here, and SWP members played leading roles in the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Starting about the same time, the Klan launched a rash of violent night-riding attacks on dissenters in Texas. In 1971 one target was the Houston SWP office.

The fight against this right-wing terror was a major focus of the SWP's mayoral campaign that year. Candidate Debby Leonard twice debated Klan Grand Dragon Frank Converse on television. In May, twelve Klan members were subpoenaed by a grand jury, and one was indicted the following month.

Support for the farm workers movement here in Texas has been another top priority of the SWP. The party also actively participates in the fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and in support of school desegregation in the battle now developing in Dallas.

During May and June the party will petition to place the SWP presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid—along with state candidates—on the November ballot.

Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, told the *Militant*, "The Democrats and Republicans get automatic ballot status here. But we have always had to fight hard for the right of our candidates to be listed. We don't expect things to be any different this time around."

Vásquez explained that state law requires the SWP to submit signatures on petitions numbering 1 percent of the entire vote cast for governor in the 1974 election.

"Due to the declining interest in two-party politics here in Texas, there was a low voter turnout in 1974," Vásquez said. "So we have fewer signatures to collect than before. We must turn in 16,550 by July, but we are aiming to collect significantly more than that."

"In addition to getting the signatures, these unfair laws require us to fill in the voter registration number of



Militant/Stu Singer  
Activities of SWP candidate Vásquez and other Texas socialists don't sit right with government officials.

each and every signer. This doubles the work," he said.

In 1974 Texas Secretary of State Mark White tried unsuccessfully to knock the SWP off the ballot, claiming that not enough valid signatures had been submitted. In fact, twice the required total had been filed.

Vásquez, who was the party's 1974 candidate for attorney general, recalled: "We went to court and forced White to put us on the ballot. This fight was supported by hundreds of Texans who sent telegrams and letters to the secretary of state backing our right to be on the ballot. We got support from leading members of the Raza Unida party, also a target of these undemocratic laws."

"If White tries it again this time," Vásquez said, "We'll be ready for him!"

This year's petition drive begins in Houston on Saturday, May 8, with a full day's petitioning followed by a dinner and rally. The rally will feature

SWP candidate Vásquez, along with Malik Miah, a member of the SWP National Committee, and Jill Fein, candidate for Harris County commissioner. Fein was recently endorsed by the Harris County Women's Political Caucus.

Rally organizers expect to raise a large portion of the money that will be needed to cover the costs of petitioning.

New Texas campaign literature has been prepared, including a large poster of Pedro Vásquez. An English-Spanish leaflet will be distributed to everyone who signs the petitions.

Plans are also under way for a weekend rally in Galveston in mid-June at the end of petitioning.

Supporters of the socialist campaign in Texas are urged to attend the May 8 rally and participate in the petitioning effort. Contact: SWP, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Telephone: (713) 526-1082.

## FBI exposures damage G-men's morale

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

Last week we reported on some new lows in public confidence in American political institutions. Apparently, morale among those who work in them isn't very high either. At least, not at the FBI.

In an article in the April 18 *Washington Post*, staff writer John Goshko let it all hang out.

### Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

"Continuing disclosures of past FBI abuses and charges of financial wrong doing within the bureau," wrote Goshko, "are causing what some sources call 'a fresh and devastating erosion of morale' among the FBI's 8,500 agents."

Particularly disturbing to the G-men, say the sources, was an announcement by the Justice Department of a decision to notify several hundred people that they had been targets of the bureau's Cointelpro operations.

"Some, who took part in Cointelpro activities, fear that they now will be exposed to costly civil law suits from the victims," Goshko explained.

But it isn't fear of court actions or

the money that most upsets the G-men. It's the principle of the thing.

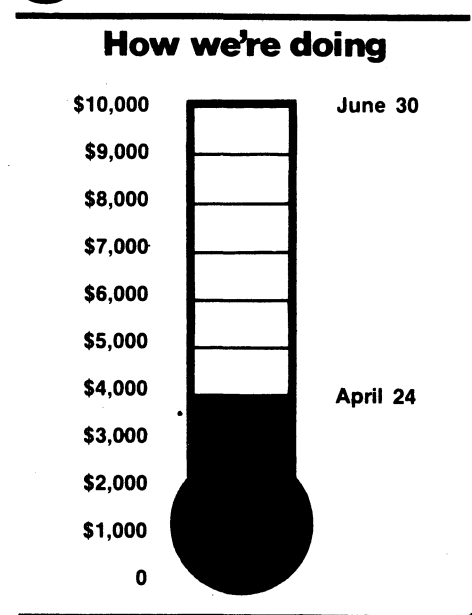
According to Goshko, the Justice Department's announcement had provoked "a widespread feeling" among the agents that the decision "puts the FBI in the position of begging forgiveness from Communists and radicals and portraying its agents, many of whom believed that they were faithfully carrying out lawful orders, as criminals."

And, to make matters even worse, the White House has ungratefully demanded cuts in overtime pay for federal cops. FBI agents routinely work overtime, as proved by revelations of ninety-two burglaries of Socialist Workers party offices carried out in the wee hours of the morning.

Vintage Books, a major publishing house, is issuing a book this month that details the FBI's Cointelpro operation against the SWP. Entitled *Cointelpro*, the book—originally released by Pathfinder Press—has been expanded to cover the recently disclosed burglaries.

*Cointelpro* reprints many documents from the FBI's own files. The previously secret papers were released to the SWP in the course of our suit against the government's harassment of our party.

Through this landmark civil liberties



case, the SWP has played the foremost role in exposing these illegal and undemocratic FBI operations.

The Camejo-Reid campaign is an integral part of the fight against FBI and CIA crimes. The socialist candidates are explaining the issues in the suit and letting people know it is possible to fight back effectively against these crimes.

Camejo and Reid call for opening all

FBI and CIA files. Exposure of these crimes is the necessary first step to halting them.

The Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund is needed to help keep the socialist candidates on the road where they can hammer away in defense of political rights. Our goal is to raise \$10,000 by June 30.

This week, supporters in ten states kept up the drive's momentum by sending in \$1,088. The total received now stands at \$4,051. Please add your contribution to this important fund by sending in the coupon below.

Make checks payable to Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Business Address \_\_\_\_\_

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson: Fred Halstead; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

# Calendar

## BALTIMORE

**SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE?** Speaker: Harry Ring, *Militant* Southwest Bureau chief. Fri., May 7, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

**HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM.** Two classes by Harry Ring. Sat., May 8, 10:30 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$3.50—includes forum, classes, and dinner; or 50¢ per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## BOSTON

**OPEN HOUSE AT NEW SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS AND BOOKSTORE.** Meet and hear Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; James "Mac" Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D. Refreshments and entertainment. Sat., May 8 (originally scheduled for May 1). 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Ausp: Massachusetts 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

## CLEVELAND

**'KENT STATE MAY 1970.'** A film. Fri., May 7, 8 p.m. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

## LONG BEACH, CALIF.

**CLASSES ON SOCIALISM.** Women's Liberation. Thurs., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 3322 Anaheim (corner of Redondo). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

## MILWAUKEE

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND.** Sat., May 8, 12:00 noon: *Life in capitalist America.* Bolton 60, UWM 2:30 p.m.: *The Equal Rights Amendment—a debate.* Speakers: pro—Delpine Welch, SWP; con—Darlene Dagenhardt, Illinois STOP ERA. Bolton 60, UWM. Sun., May 9, 11:30 a.m.: *A strategy for Black political power.* Speaker: Andrew Pulley, SWP. E-280, UWM. *The labor movement today.* E-307, UWM. All classes at Univ. of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. Donation: 50¢ per class. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Robert Schwarz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Mercedes Rivas, president of Bilingual-Bicultural Parents Advisory Committee. Sat., May 8, 7:30 p.m. 207 E. Michigan St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

## NEW YORK: QUEENS

**WHY WORKING PEOPLE NEED A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: Ed Heisler, chairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee; Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate;

Keith Jones, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 7th C.D.; Helen Cairns, Queens College faculty member, member of Professional Staff Congress; Rachel Ovryn, York College student senator. Fri., May 7, 6:30 p.m., social hour and meet the candidates; 8:00 p.m., program; party to follow. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Queens Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

**SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT CHILD-CARE INITIATIVE: THE SECOND TIME AROUND.** Why we should vote 'yes' on Proposition I. A panel discussion. Panelists: Sylvia Weinstein, Child and Parent Action; Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Fri., May 7, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

# ...FBI

*Continued from page 9*  
newspapers.

The article concluded, "It should be an interesting experience for Mr. HALSTEAD when he encounters the men who have served both their own country and others in the interest of freedom."

Fortunately, the mood of the GIs in Vietnam wasn't as "patriotic" as the FBI planners who dreamed up that plot. During five days spent talking to GIs in that war-torn country, Halstead met no hostility.

Whatever the reasoning of the agents in San Francisco, they broke into the car and kept the briefcase and its contents.

In recording this case even for its own secret files the FBI created an elaborate cover story to explain how Halstead's briefcase came into its possession. This is standard FBI procedure to mask flagrantly illegal "intelligence gathering" methods.

The document concerning the theft of the briefcase is a memo from the Sacramento FBI office to J. Edgar Hoover. According to this memo, "This material was obtained from [deleted] advised [deleted] that on 10/26/68 he found a brief case containing the above identified papers on a wash stand in the men's restroom, United Airlines Terminal, International Airport, San Francisco. He was unable to

locate the owner of the brief case through the United Airlines Office at the terminal. He took the brief case to his residence in Vallejo and on 11/7/68 he decided he would destroy it and the contents. Before doing so he contacted [deleted] and explained the situation. [Deleted] advised that no one has knowledge of his finding the brief case except a distant relative who lives in Sacramento, California. This relative does not know that [deleted] turned the material over to the FBI. A disposition of this matter is being left to the discretion of the New York Office. The identity of [deleted] must be concealed at his request."

Although the document says the briefcase was "found" on October 26, 1968, it was actually taken three weeks earlier. On the day it supposedly turned up at the airport, Halstead was traveling between Kentucky and Washington, D.C. He had not been in San Francisco since October 5.

Why the elaborate charade? First, it was necessary to obscure the identity of those who stole the briefcase and its contents.

But a second reason is even more important. The FBI was well aware that it is a federal offense for any government employee to interfere with a presidential campaign. Thus, the FBI's cover story pushes back the date the FBI first learned of the theft until *two days after* the presidential election, when Halstead was no longer a candidate.

The briefcase story came to light less than a month after the news broke on the FBI's burglaries of the SWP offices in New York City. Prior to the publication of the burglary documents, the FBI had denied that it carried out burglaries against the SWP. When those files came to light, the FBI asserted it had sworn off such illegal acts in 1966—two years before the government pilfered Halstead's briefcase.

In fact, the Halstead files came to light not through the SWP's suit against the government, but through a separate request under the Freedom of Information Act filed on Halstead's

behalf by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Although the federal judge in the SWP case has ordered the FBI to turn over everything in its files concerning spying and harassment against the SWP, the FBI officials handling the case refused to hand over the Halstead files—just as they refused to even acknowledge the existence of the burglary files before they were made public.

It was, evidently, in another office in the labyrinthine bureaucracy of the FBI that the decision was made to release the latest information.

The government's attempts to cover up the FBI's crimes against the SWP are subject to the same process that undermined and eventually shattered the White House cover-up of Watergate.

As Nixon found out, once a story like this starts to come out, it's impossible to put the genie back into the bottle.

# ...Tyler

*Continued from back page*

That evening, the Gary Tyler Defense Committee held a rally back in New Orleans. "I hope everyone will work to make the committee bigger," Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, told the crowd.

Walter Collins, coordinator of the defense committee, said, "An injury to one is an injury to all. Every day, every hour that we are not sleeping, we must work to see to it that the system which victimized Gary Tyler is dismantled."

Jack Peebles said that Marino's decision will be appealed to the state supreme court. "The fight is now under way to save Gary's life," he said. "Gary told me to tell you he's going to hold on."

Anyone wishing to help on the defense effort may contact Walter Collins, Gary Tyler Defense Committee, 1610 Basin Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112. Telephone: (504) 522-2244.

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA: Tempe:** YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252. Tel: (602) 277-9453.

**Tucson:** YSA, c/o Jeff Hamill, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 624-9176.

**CALIFORNIA: Berkeley:** SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

**East Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

**Long Beach:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

**Los Angeles: Crenshaw District:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

**Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA,** 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.

**Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

**Pasadena:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.

**San Diego:** SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

**San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8919; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

**San Francisco, Mission District:** SWP, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

**San Jose:** SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**East San Jose:** SWP, 1192 E. Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif. 95116. Tel: (408) 295-2618.

**Santa Barbara:** YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**Santa Cruz:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

**COLORADO: Boulder:** YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

**Denver:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

**Fort Collins:** YSA, 325 E. Myrtle, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

**FLORIDA: Miami:** YSA, P.O. Box 390487, Miami, Fla. 33139.

**Tallahassee:** YSA, c/o Suzanne Welch, 765 El Rancho St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904)

224-9632.

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., NE, Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana:** YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

**Chicago, South Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 1754 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

**Chicago, West-North:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280; Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

**Chicago:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0748.

**INDIANA: Bloomington:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Indianapolis:** YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 783-5163.

**Muncie:** YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

**KANSAS: Lawrence:** YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Sunflower Apts. #23, Lawrence, Kans. 66044.

**KENTUCKY: Lexington:** YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

**Louisville:** YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

**LOUISIANA: New Orleans:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

**College Park:** YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

**Prince Georges County:** SWP, P.O. Box 1087, Prince Georges Plaza, Hyattsville, Md. 20788. Tel: (202) 333-0265 or (202) 783-2391.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst:** YSA, c/o Mark Cerasoulou, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

**Boston:** SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

**Boston:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**Cambridge:** SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

**Roxbury:** SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

**Worcester:** YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

**MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor:** YSA, Room 4103, Mich.

Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

**Detroit:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 6404 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48202. Tel: (313) 873-8836.

**East Lansing:** YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

**Mt. Pleasant:** YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

**MINNESOTA: Minneapolis:** SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 15 4th St. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**St. Paul:** SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave. N, St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

**MISSOURI: Kansas City:** YSA, c/o UMKC Student Activities Office, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

**St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** SWP and YSA, 11-A Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA, c/o Gary Mele, 947 Strong St., Schenectady, N.Y. 12307. Tel: (518) 346-0352.

**Binghamton:** YSA, c/o Debbie Porder, 184 Corliss Ave., Johnson City, N.Y. 13790. Tel: (607) 729-3812.

**Ithaca:** YSA, c/o Doug Cooper, 105 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 273-7625.

**New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

**New York, Chelsea:** SWP, Pathfinder Bookstore, 200½ W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

**New York, Lower East Side:** SWP and YSA, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

**New York, Queens:** SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

**New York, Upper West Side:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

**OHIO: Cincinnati:** YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227. Tel: (513) 272-2596.

**Cleveland:** SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

**Columbus:** YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

**OREGON: Portland:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro:** YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

**Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

**State College:** YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

**TENNESSEE: Knoxville:** YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

**TEXAS: Austin:** YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

**Dallas:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 50212, Dallas, Tex. 75250.

**Houston:** SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

**San Antonio:** SWP, P.O. Box 1376, San Antonio, Tex. 78295. Tel: (512) 732-5957. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Station, San Antonio, Tex. 78212.

**UTAH: Logan:** YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322.

**VIRGINIA: Richmond:** SWP, P.O. Box 25394, Richmond, Va. 23260.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. NW, Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON: Seattle, Central Area:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2200 E. Union, Seattle, Wash. 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404.

**Seattle, City-wide:** SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

**WISCONSIN: Eau Claire:** YSA, c/o Tom Brill, 221½ Ninth Ave., Eau Claire, Wis. 54701.

**La Crosse:** YSA, c/o UW La Crosse, Cartwright Center, 1725 State St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

**Madison:** YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

**Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.



# Texas Socialist Workers campaign dinner & rally

SATURDAY, MAY 8, 6 P.M.  
MEXICAN DELITE RESTAURANT  
3500 E. LITTLE YORK, AT HWY. 59

This rally will launch the petitioning effort to put the socialist candidates on the Texas ballot for 1976. Speakers include: Malik Miah, member, National Committee, Socialist Workers party; Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Jill Fein, SWP candidate for Harris County Commissioner, Precinct One, endorsed by the Harris County Women's Political Caucus. Donation: \$3 for dinner and rally. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call Houston (713) 526-1082; San Antonio (512) 734-8273; Dallas (214) 827-6589; Austin (512) 474-9789.

Officers of Socialist Workers Campaign—chairperson: Dan Fein; treasurer, Lester Lantz.

## Books From Pathfinder Press Women's Liberation

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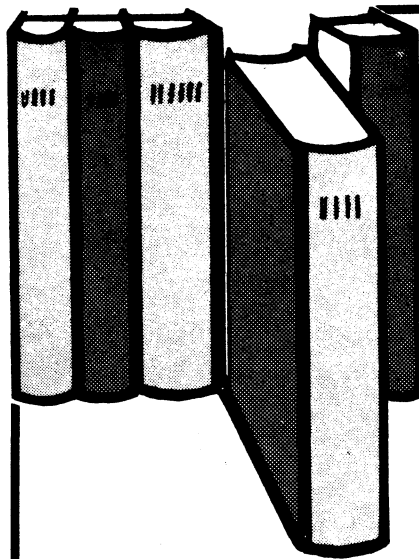
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# THE MILITANT

## Gary Tyler denied new trial

# Innocent Black youth faces electric chair

By Joel Aber

HAHNVILLE, La.—The packed courtroom was tense and silent April 23 as Judge Ruche Marino read his statement denying Gary Tyler a new trial.

With quiet dignity, the seventeen-year-old defendant rose and interrupted the judge's smug lecture. "You never gave me [a trial] in the first place," Tyler told the judge.

Black women in the courtroom wept. Cries of "racist" and "murderer" rang

**Letters of support to Gary Tyler can be sent to him at Death Row C-127, Angola, Louisiana 70712.**

out as Tyler's supporters, stunned and angry, were ordered to leave the courthouse.

Each morning for three days they had poured into Hahnville by car and by chartered bus. They had brought signs that read "Free Gary Tyler."

Tyler was the Black scapegoat seized by police after Timothy Weber, a thirteen-year-old white student, was shot and killed during a racial disturbance at Destrehan High School. In this same courtroom, presided over by Judge Marino, Tyler was convicted of murder last November by an all-white jury and sentenced to die in the electric chair.

Fewer than 50 spectators could squeeze into the courtroom in this small country town on the Mississippi River, so 400 more had to wait on the grass outside.

The white folks who run Hahnville had never seen so many determined Blacks before. They came from Xavier University and Southern University in New Orleans. They came from dozens of high schools, including Destrehan, where Gary's classmates have formed a group called the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters.

At first the judge was on his best behavior. He made a point of welcoming the *New York Times* reporter to this part of the country. But he changed his act as the hearing continued.

Security grew tighter each hour. On the final day, state police and St. Charles Parish deputy sheriffs even frisked defense attorney Jack Peebles. They tried to exclude fifteen-year-old Jenifer Tyler, Gary's sister, because she did not have a picture ID.

### Key witness recants

Testimony at the hearing proceeded as expected. Natalie Blanks, sixteen, the key prosecution witness at Tyler's trial, testified the first day. Blanks had been the only witness to say she saw Tyler fire a gun.

In the hearing for a new trial, she said her original testimony had been a lie, forced out of her under threat of prosecution.

Sylvia Taylor, Natalie's lawyer, testified that the prosecutors and judge had given Blanks immunity from prosecution for perjury during the trial. But they did so secretly, thus keeping



Militant/Greg Nelson

Supporters await news of Tyler's fate outside Hahnville, Louisiana, courtroom. Speaking is Walter Collins, head of Gary Tyler Defense Committee.

suspicious of her unreliability from the jury.

Taylor and Natalie's mother, Elmira Blanks, testified that Natalie had been under psychiatric treatment since the age of eight because of her inability to distinguish truth from falsehood.

Loretta London Thomas, sixteen, and her mother, Marian London, both said Loretta had agreed to testify against Tyler after police threatened to jail her "for ninety-nine years."

Judge Marino interrupted Thomas's account of police intimidation: "You keep saying *they* threatened you. Who are they? I don't want a blanket attack on the whole police department."

Thomas started to respond, "I don't know their—"

"Listen, lady," the judge snapped, "you keep quiet now!"

Donald Files was another student on the school bus with Tyler and Blanks when the white student—part of a stone-throwing mob outside—was shot. Files confirmed that Blanks could not have seen Tyler fire a gun.

The Black students had dived under the bus seats, he said, when they saw a white man on a porch with a shotgun. Files said that when they heard the shot Blanks was near him, not near Tyler, lying face down under a bus seat.

### Judge threatens spectators

In his summation for the defense, attorney Jack Peebles stated, "The testimony of Natalie Blanks should

not be the basis for the electrocution of Gary Tyler." A ripple of applause broke out.

The judge stopped Peebles and turned on the spectators. "You will have to stop. We have put up with a lot. Outside you have had your signs. There has been noise. [No one else had heard noise.]

"I have allowed all this. And today I gave you toilets. [He apparently had outhouses put on the grounds after placing the court's restrooms off limits.] The next person who claps will be in the parish prison."

Marino did not appear to be listening to Peebles's summation. He was already busy writing his statement denying the motion for a new trial.

At Peebles's conclusion, without even calling a recess, Marino began his statement. As it became clear the judge was returning Tyler to death row, several frustrated spectators got up to leave. Marino ordered armed deputies to bar the door. "No one leaves," he barked.

Gary Tyler's pregnant sister, Barbara McRae, tried to go to the restroom. Marino ordered her to sit down.

Tyler's supporters began to shout angrily. Then Marino ordered the courthouse cleared and gave them thirty minutes to leave town.

A skirmish line of sheriff's deputies was waiting outside to push the Blacks to their cars and buses. Two helicopters landed, filled with Louisiana state troopers and dogs.

### 'He's going to hold on'

After his supporters had left town, Gary Tyler was taken to one of the helicopters for the trip back to the state prison at Angola.

He held his head high and raised both his cuffed hands in a double clenched fist salute.

*Continued on page 30*

## 'Militant' banned on death row

HAHNVILLE, La.—Louisiana state authorities evidently do not like the *Militant's* coverage of the Gary Tyler frame-up case.

Tyler's subscription to the *Militant* has been confiscated by prison officials, who charge that the paper is "obscene or an immediate threat to security." No specifics were cited to justify this censorship.

Tyler told his lawyer, Jack Peebles, that he likes the *Militant* and wants to appeal the prison's action.

On the second day of the hearing, Judge Marino took this reporter and John Bass, a reporter for the *Louisiana Worker*, to his chambers. There he told us that we could no longer sit in the press section of the courtroom as we had the first day.

According to the judge, state police intelligence made the decision to segregate us from the rest of the reporters because we are "not legitimate press but left-wing press."

### LOUISIANA STATE PENITENTIARY

#### MEMORANDUM

TO: Gary Tyler C-127  
Death Row  
FROM: Mail Room Supervisor  
DATE: 4-15-76  
RE: Confiscated Materials and Correspondence

The following items listed by numbers have been confiscated because they are considered obscene or an immediate threat to security. These items are being forwarded to the Warden's Office for review and keeping.

1. *The Militant* 11.
2. 12.
3. 13.
4. 14.
5. 15.
6. 16.